LAWRENCE IN ARABIA

WAR, DECEIT, IMPERIAL FOLLY AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST

阿拉伯的劳伦斯

战争、谎言、帝国愚行与现代中东的形成

〔美〕斯科特·安德森 / 著
SCOTT ANDERSON

陆大鹏　译

社会科学文献出版社
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斯科特·安德森
资深战地记者，曾在黎巴嫩、以色列、埃及、北爱尔兰、车臣、苏丹、波斯尼亚、萨尔瓦多和许多其他战乱国家或地区报道。他常在《纽约时报杂志》发表文章，也为《名利场》《时尚先生》《哈珀斯杂志》《户外》撰写文章。他的著作包括小说《月光酒店》《检伤分类》，非虚构作品《试图拯救世界的人》《4点钟的谋杀》，以及他与自己的兄弟乔恩·李·安德森合著的《战区》和《联盟之内》。

陆大鹏，南京大学英美文学硕士，英德语口笔译者，热爱一切 long ago 和 far away 的东西，读书不求甚解，全凭乐趣。代表译作《1453：君士坦丁堡之战》《海洋帝国：地中海大决战》《哈比人》［合译］等。
豆瓣、新浪微博：陆盧模 Hans。

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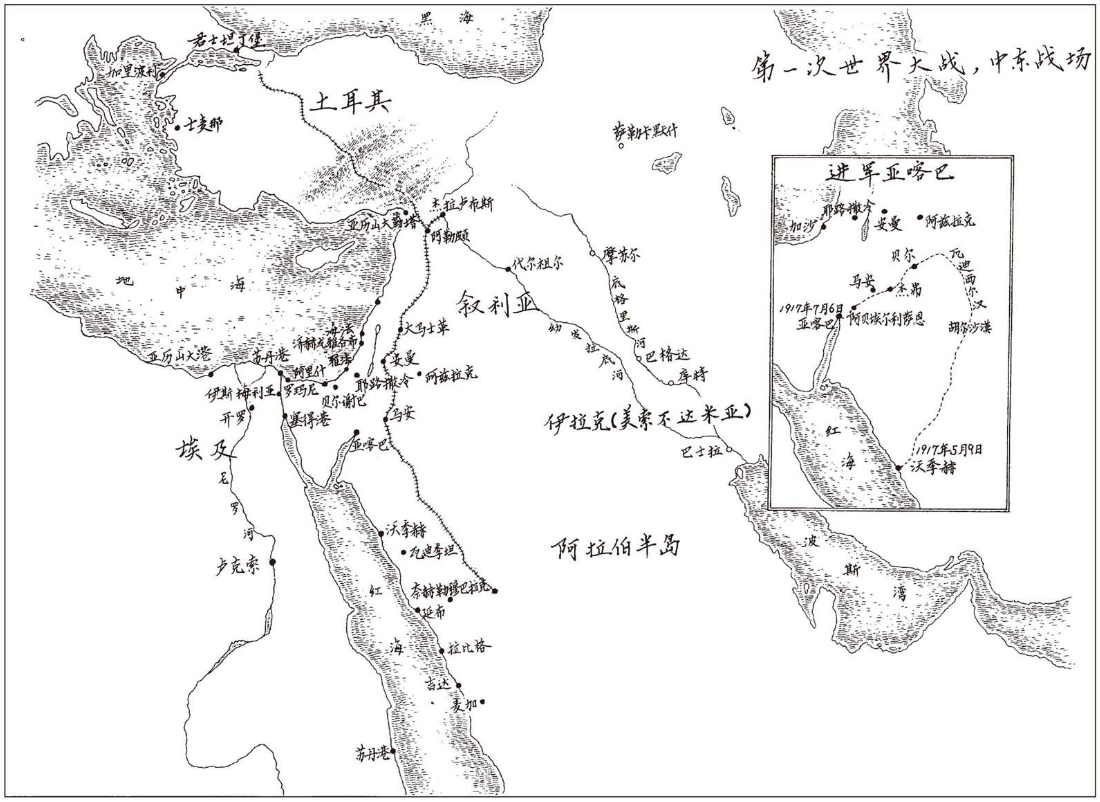
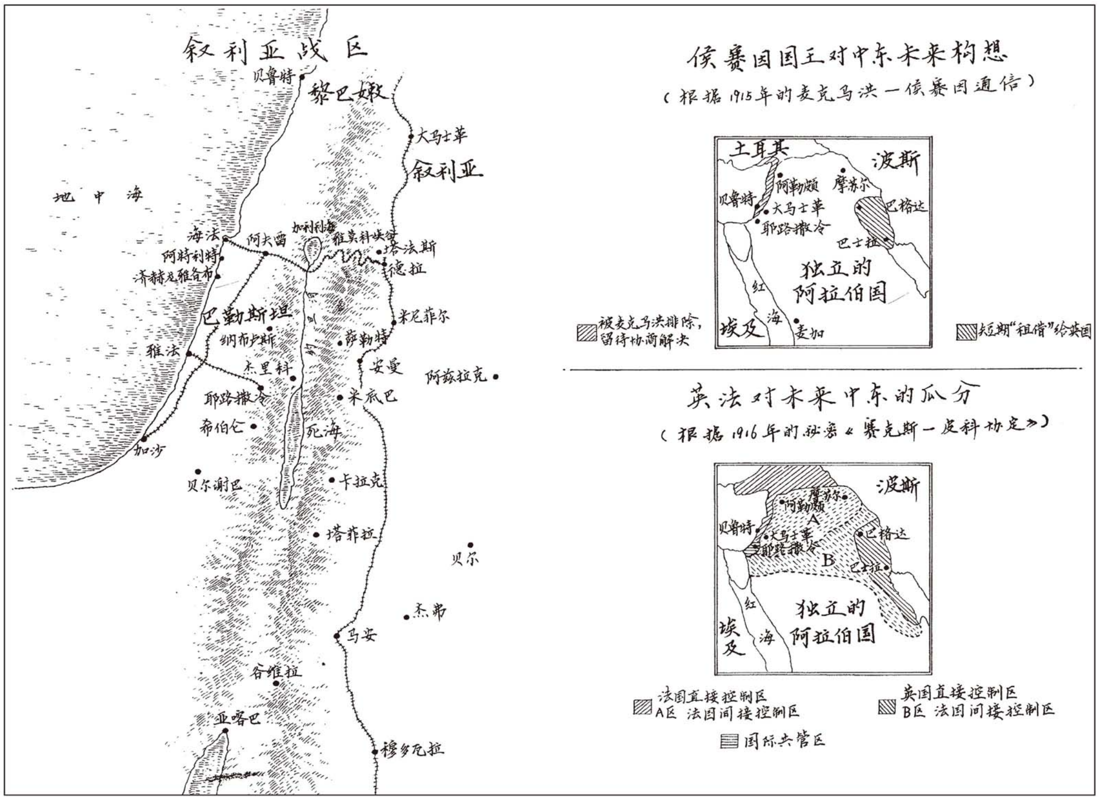
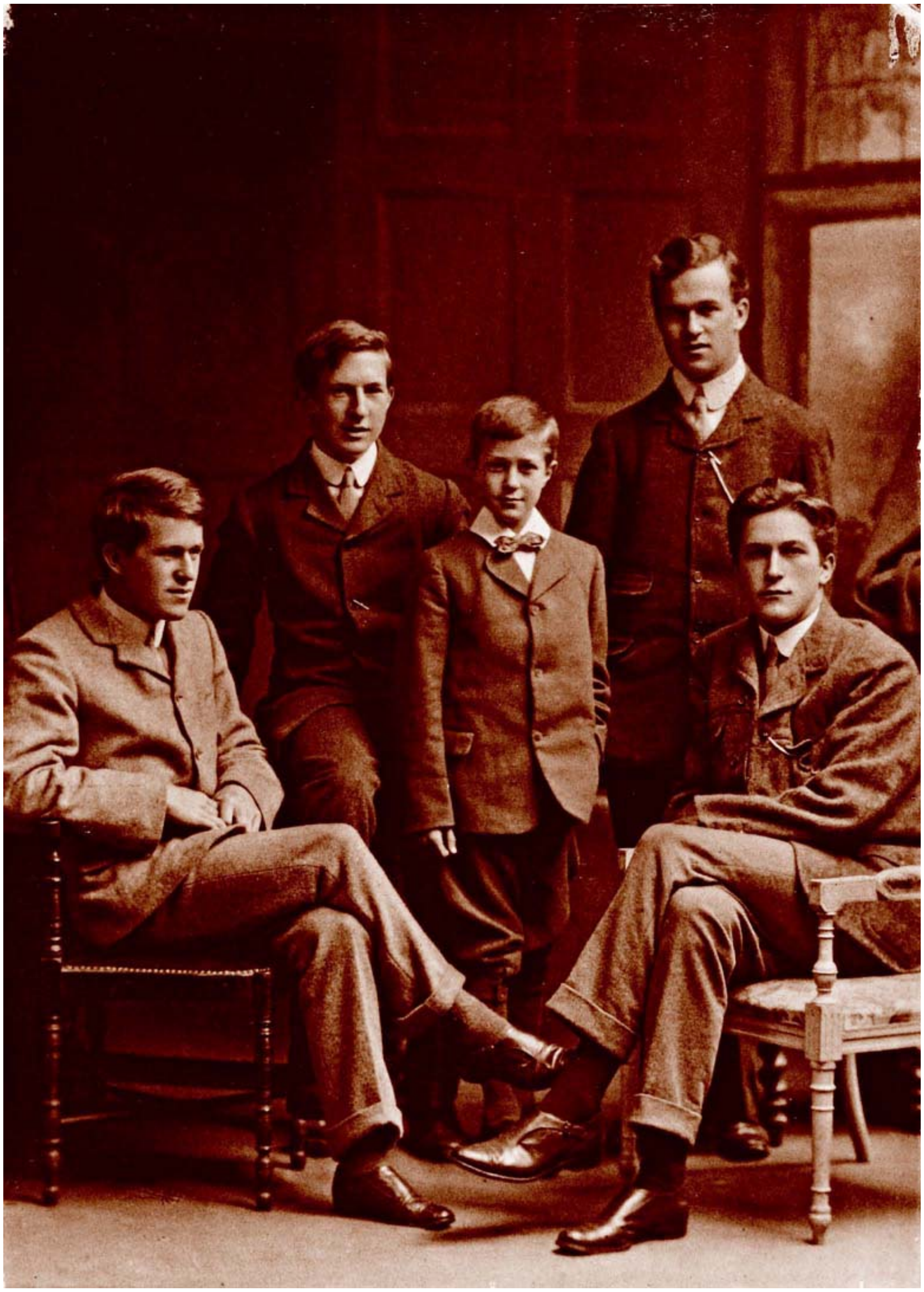

第一次世界大战，中东战场
黑海
君士坦丁堡
加里波利
士麦那
土耳其
地中海
亚历山大勒塔
杰拉卢布斯
阿勒颇
代尔祖尔
叙利亚
幼发拉底河
摩苏尔
底格里斯河
巴格达
库特
萨勒卡默什
伊拉克（美索不达米亚）
巴士拉
海法
济赫龙雅各布
雅法
阿里什
罗马尼
贝尔谢巴
耶路撒冷
大马士革
安曼
阿兹拉克
马安
亚喀巴
亚历山大港
苏丹港
伊斯梅利亚
开罗
塞得港
埃及
尼罗河
卢克索
沃季赫
瓦迪季坦
奈赫勒穆巴拉克
延布
拉比格
吉达
麦加
苏丹港
红海
阿拉伯半岛
波斯湾
进军亚喀巴
加沙
耶路撒冷
安曼
阿兹拉克
贝尔
瓦迪西尔汉
马安
杰弗
1917年7月6日
亚喀巴
阿贝埃尔利萨恩
胡尔沙漠
红海
1917年5月9日
沃季赫



叙利亚战区
贝鲁特
黎巴嫩
大马士革
叙利亚
地中海
海法
阿夫雷
加利利海
雅莫科峡谷
塔法斯
德拉
阿特利特
济赫龙雅各布
巴勒斯坦
米尼菲尔
纳布卢斯
萨勒特
雅法
安曼
杰里科
阿兹拉克
耶路撒冷
米底巴
希伯仑
死海
加沙
贝尔谢巴
卡拉克
塔菲拉
贝尔
杰弗
马安
谷维拉
亚喀巴
穆多瓦拉
侯赛因国王对中东未来构想
（根据1915年的麦克马洪—侯赛因通信）
土耳其
波斯
阿勒颇
摩苏尔
贝鲁特
大马士革
巴格达
耶路撒冷
巴士拉
独立的
阿拉伯国
红
海
埃及
麦加
被麦克马洪排除，
留待协商解决
短期“租借”给英国
英法对未来中东的瓜分
（根据1916年的秘密《赛克斯—皮科协定》）
波斯
摩苏尔
阿勒颇
A
贝鲁特
巴格达
大马士革
耶路撒冷
B
巴士拉
红
独立的
埃及
海
阿拉伯国
法国直接控制区
A区 法国间接控制区
英国直接控制区
B区 法国间接控制区
国际共管区



T.E.劳伦斯（左一）与他的四个兄弟（从左向右：弗兰克、阿诺尔德、罗伯特和威尔）。

T.E.劳伦斯于1915年在开罗开展“文牍战争”的同时，弗兰克和威

尔都在西线阵亡。

Bodleian ref：MS. Photog. c.122，fol.3

学者、间谍和臭名昭著的风流浪子：库尔特·普吕弗在开罗，1906年

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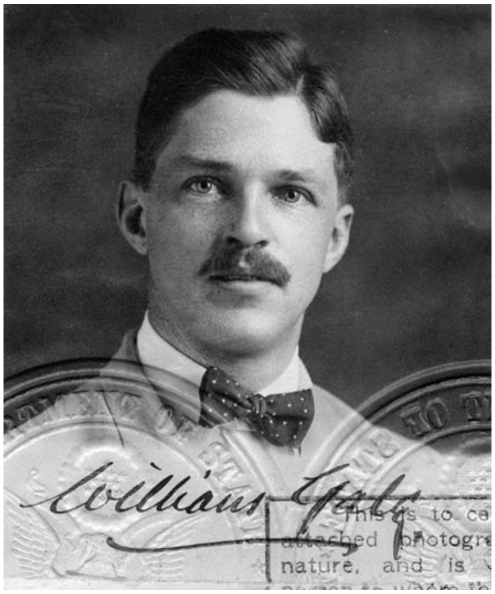

破落贵族威廉·耶鲁是第一次世界大战期间美国在中东的唯一一名情报人员，同时仍然是标准石油公司的秘密雇员。

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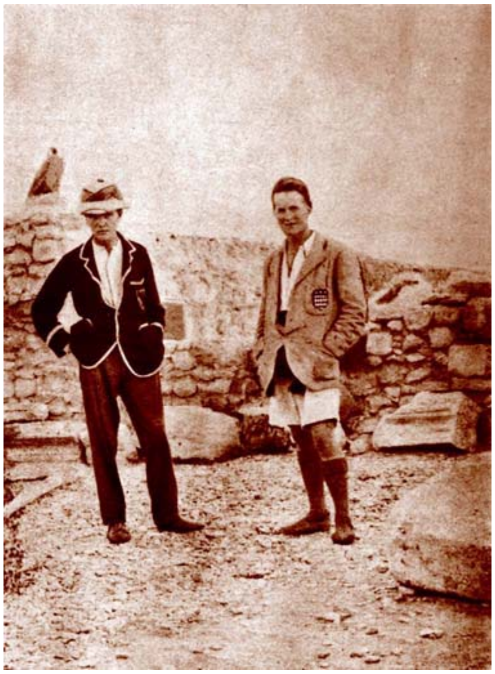
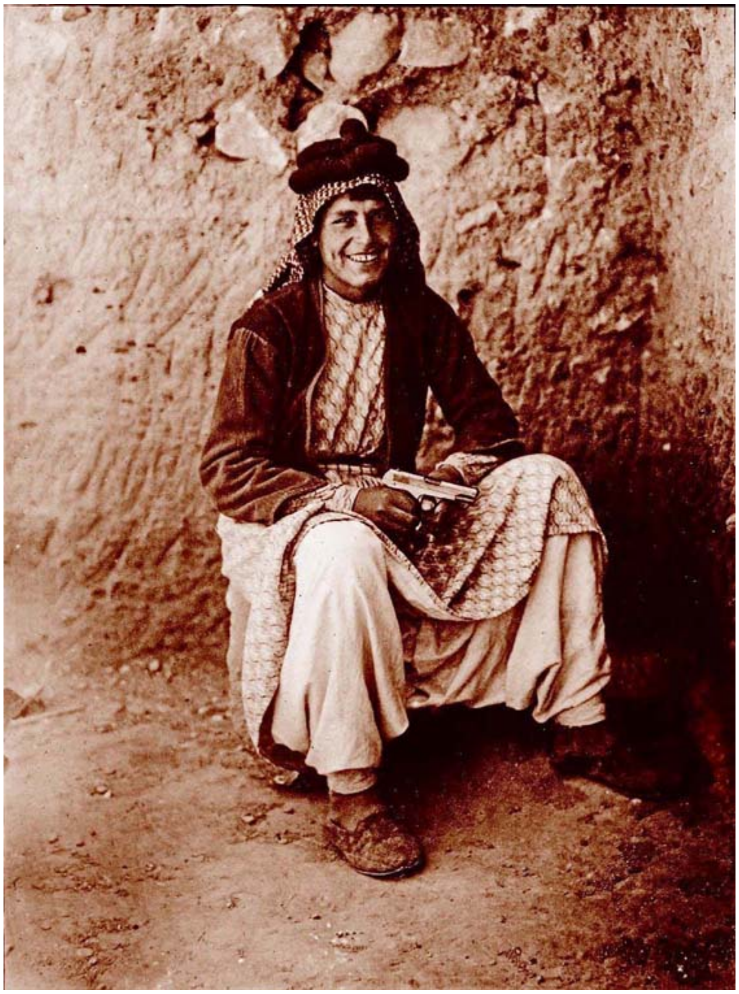
魁梧的壮汉：亚伦·亚伦森，卓越的科学家，热诚的犹太复国主义者，中东最成功的间谍网的领导人。All rights are reserved to the Beit Aaronsohn Museum NILI



英国人在国外：1912年，T.E.劳伦斯（右）和伦纳德·伍莱在卡尔基米什考古发掘现场。劳伦斯后来回忆说，在卡尔基米什的时期是他一生中最幸福的时光。



达霍姆，劳伦斯在卡尔基米什的年轻助理。劳伦斯将《智慧的七柱》献给了他。

©The British Library Board，MS 50584，f.115-116

斯图尔特·纽科姆在神秘的寻漠探险活动中是劳伦斯的上级，后来把他带到了战时开罗，从事情报工作。

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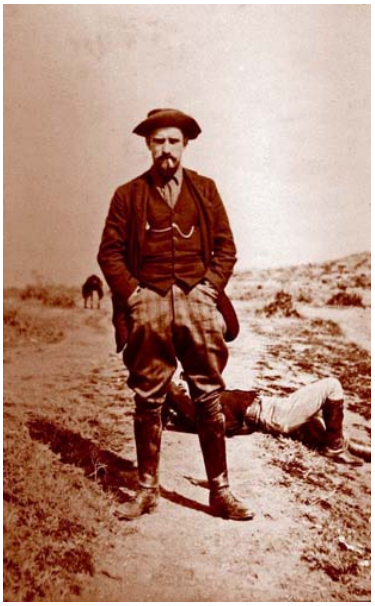

威廉·耶鲁家的万贯家财灰飞烟灭之后，他加入标准石油公司，前往奥斯曼帝国执行一项寻找石油的秘密行动。

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花花公子在圣地：为了保密，耶鲁和他在标准石油公司的伙伴（左二：J.C.希尔；右二：鲁道夫·麦戈文）装扮成游览圣经时代遗迹的富裕的花花公子”，但这番伪装的效果很有限。

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德皇威廉二世，德意志的恺撒。他的整整一代臣民，包括库尔特·普吕弗，都被威廉二世的好战要求——德国应当享有“太阳下的崇高地位”——所振奋鼓舞。

“德皇的间谍”马克斯·冯·奥本海默伯爵，也是库尔特·普吕弗的导师。奥本海默在沉溺于考古学、女奴和赛马的同时，梦想着通过伊斯兰圣战在中东点燃一场大火。

1915年2月，普吕弗在土耳其军队进攻苏伊士运河的前夕。尽管他在私人日记中预感到大祸临头，但还是敦促攻势展开。

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基钦纳勋爵于1914年8月被任命为陆军大臣。其他人估计战争会很快结束，轻松得胜，但他却预言，这场战争会耗尽英国的人力，“只剩最后100万人”。

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科学。”劳伦斯鄙夷地如此描述赛克斯。

雷金纳德温盖特，埃及军总司令和英国驻埃及高级专员。显然，他始终没有看穿劳伦斯的欺骗计谋。Hulton Arbive/Getty Image

外交界的讨厌鬼和典型的业余政治家马克·赛克斯。“想象力丰富，鼓吹着不能令人信服的世界走向……满脑子是偏见、直觉和伪科学。”劳伦斯鄙夷地如此描述赛克斯。

艾哈迈德·杰马勒帕夏（穿白衣者），叙利亚的奥斯曼总督。战争期间，威廉·耶鲁、库尔特·普吕弗和亚伦·亚伦森都曾与反复无常的杰马勒直接打过交道。

“土耳其军队中最英俊的人”，奥斯曼帝国的陆军部长恩维尔帕夏，他曾与库尔特·普吕弗共谋摧毁苏伊士运河。

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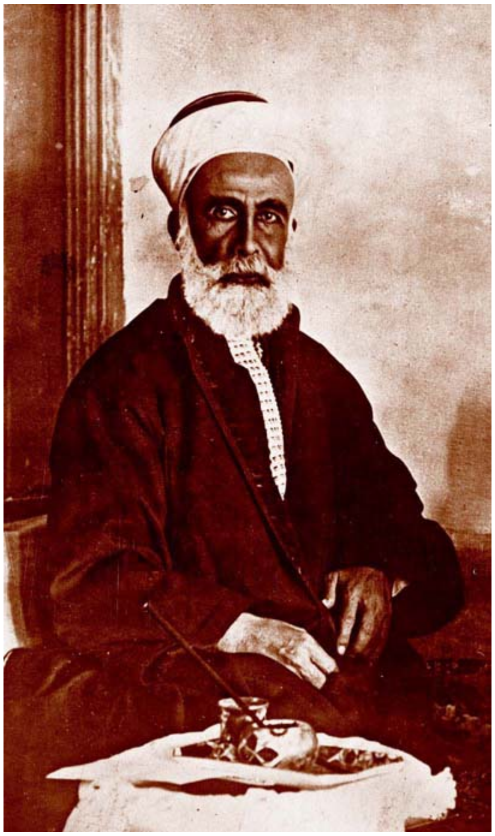
穆斯塔法·凯末尔·“阿塔图尔克”，加里波利战役的英雄，现代土耳其共和国的缔造者。Library of Congress



汉志国王侯赛因

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罗纳德·斯托尔斯，侯赛因与英国的秘密协商的联络人，是他把T.E.劳伦斯领进了阿拉伯起义。

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“武装的先知”，费萨尔·伊本·侯赛因，侯赛因国王的第三子，T.E.劳伦斯在阿拉伯起义期间的主要盟友。

无休无止地谈话，慢悠悠地用餐：1917年，费萨尔的流动作战指挥部的一次部落会议。在所有英国军官当中，只有劳伦斯一个人认识到，英国人必须适应阿拉伯的作战方式。

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劳伦斯敏锐地理解了部落政治运作的方式。在阿拉伯半岛，他是唯一一个被接纳到费萨尔内层圈子的英国军官。费萨尔（右三）和他的部落副手们，最右方蹲着的是劳伦斯。

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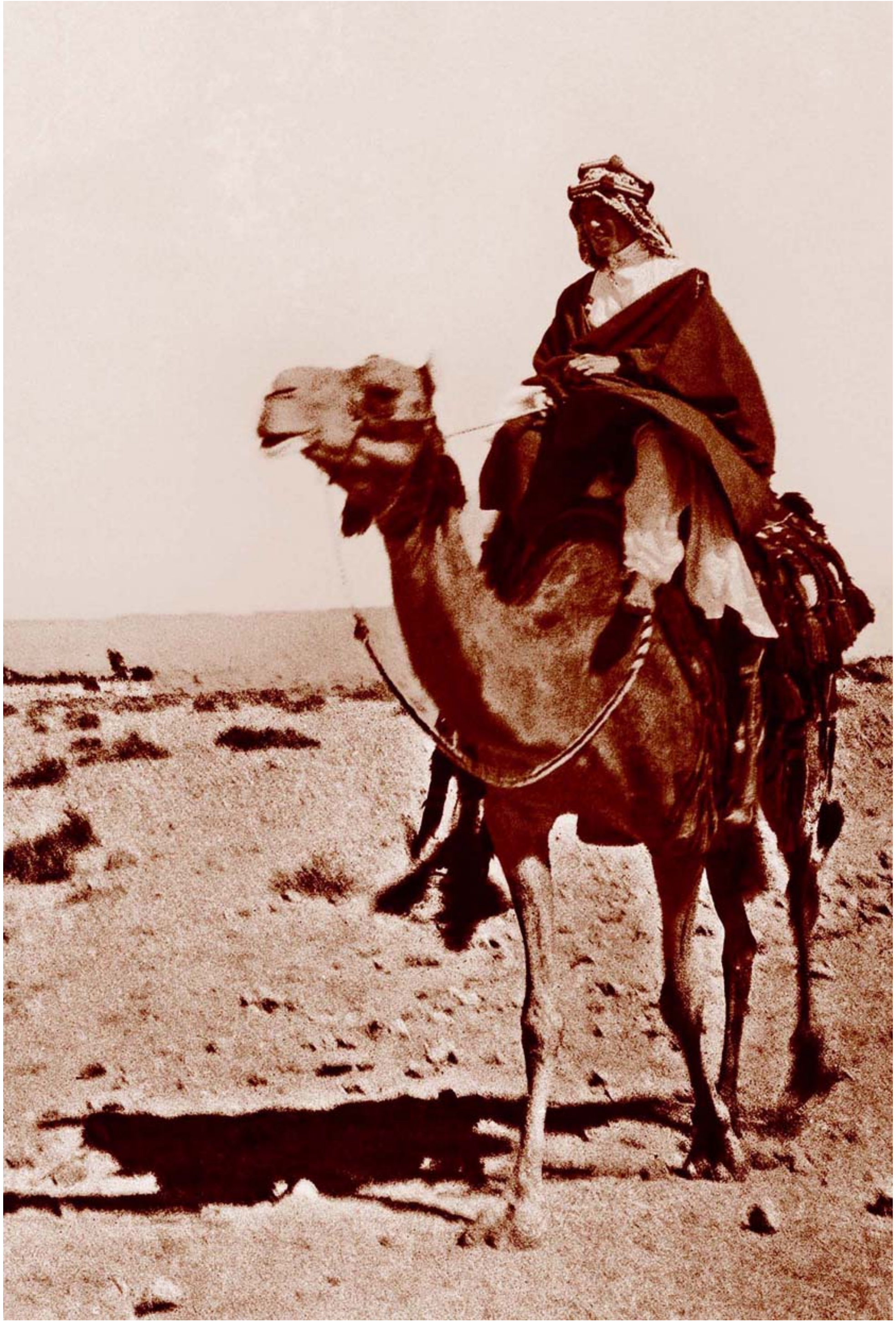
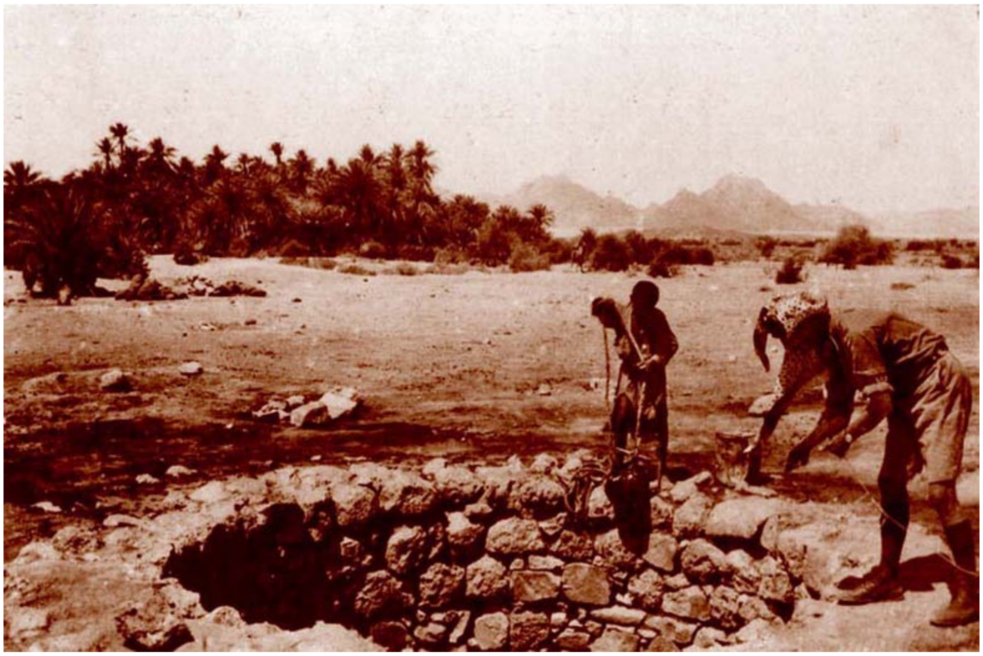


劳伦斯的马拉松一般的骑乘骆驼的长途跋涉体现了他极强的耐力，甚至让最吃苦耐劳的贝都因伙伴也瞠目结舌。

© Imperial War Museum（Q60212）

吉尔伯特·克莱顿，英国在埃及的主要情报主管，劳伦斯的上级。到1917年秋季，克莱顿非常关心劳伦斯承担的风险，因此打算将他撤离前线，“但时间还没到，因为现在需要他”。



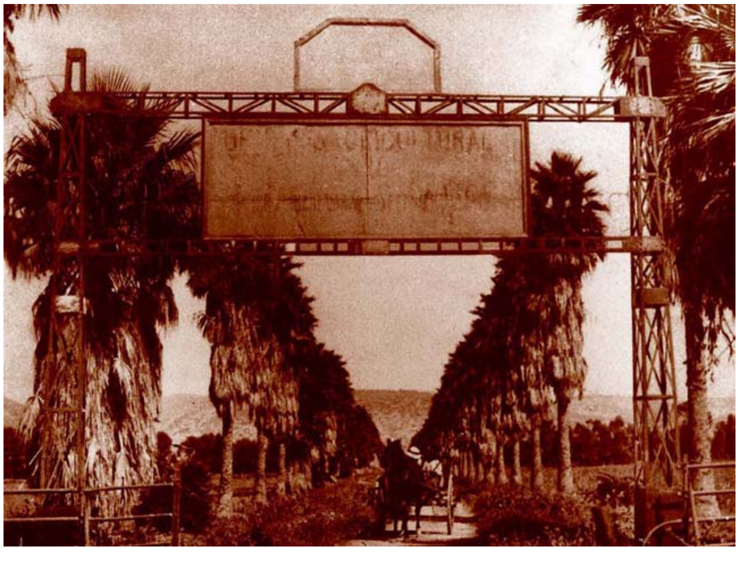
最原始的战争。劳伦斯关于何时何地攻击土耳其人的决定在很大程度上取决于何处有水源和饲料。

©www.rogerstudy.co.uk. March 1917. Photo by Captain Thomas Henderson

1916年，巴勒斯坦南部，一队奥斯曼路驼骑兵。在劳伦斯和其他人主张的游击战术最终被采纳之前，土耳其军队尽管装备落后且兵力单薄，但仍然屡次大败英军。

中世纪一般的盛景：费萨尔（中央穿白袍者）率领部落军队出征，进攻沃季赫。

© Imperial War Museum（Q58863）



阿特利特，亚伦森的犹太农业研究站的入口，这是他的NILI间谍网的指挥部。All rights are reserved to the Beit Aaronsohn Museum

NILI

亚伦森的妹妹，27岁的萨拉，面对日益险恶的环境，她将巴勒斯坦的NILI间谍网领导得风生水起。All rights are reserved to the Beit Aaronsohn Museum NILI

作为德国的特务头子，库尔特·普吕弗是第一次世界大战期间中东最令人生畏的人物之一，但他始终没有发现，阿特利特有一个犹太间谍网在运作。

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英法希望阻止他们的阿拉伯盟友控制亚喀巴。劳伦斯将英法政府蒙在鼓里，设计出了抢先一步抵达亚喀巴的大胆计划。

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1917年7月6日。阿拉伯起义军在劳伦斯的领导下，占领了具有战略意义的港口城镇亚喀巴。这是第一次世界大战中最勇敢的军事功业之一。

© Imperial War Museum（Q59193）

奥达·阿布·塔伊，传奇武士，劳伦斯攻克亚喀巴行动中的主要盟友。

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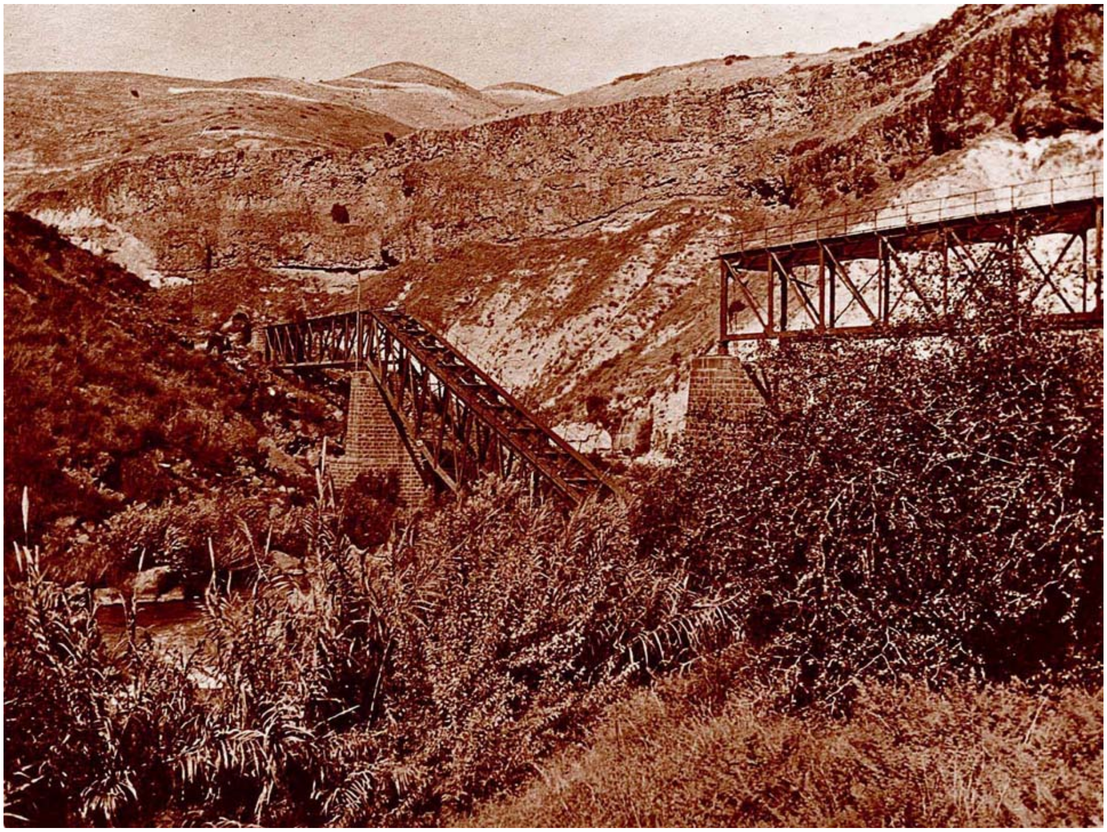

英军和阿拉伯起义军的一个主要目标就是汉志铁路，土耳其军队的生命线。根据劳伦斯自己的记录，他在战争期间一共摧毁了79座桥梁。

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战局的扭转。英军在沙漠作战中引入劳斯莱斯装甲车之后，土耳其军队没有还手之力。

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1918年，费萨尔·伊本·侯赛因（前排乘客座上）和其他阿拉伯领袖乘车在沙漠中行进。

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“我们将哈奇开斯机枪对准俘虏群，把他们全解决掉了。”随着战争继续，劳伦斯变成了一位越来越冷酷无情的战斗指挥官。

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1918年6月4日，英国犹太复国主义领导人哈伊姆·魏茨曼和费萨尔·伊本·侯赛因。翌年，在劳伦斯的撮合下，两人在巴黎和会携起手来，要求建立一个阿拉伯—犹太人的联合国家。这项努力最终被英法帝国主义的阴谋破坏。

巴黎和会的“四巨头”。从左到右：大卫·劳合·乔治（英国）、维托里奥·奥兰多（意大利）、乔治·克列孟梭（法国）和伍德罗·威尔逊（美国）。在威尔逊抵达巴黎之前，劳合·乔治和克列孟梭签订了一个秘密协定，瓜分了中东。

背叛被揭露。1918年10月3日，劳伦斯在大马士革的维多利亚饭店阳台上。艾伦比和费萨尔的重大会议刚刚结束。次日，劳伦斯离开了

叙利亚，再也没有回来过。

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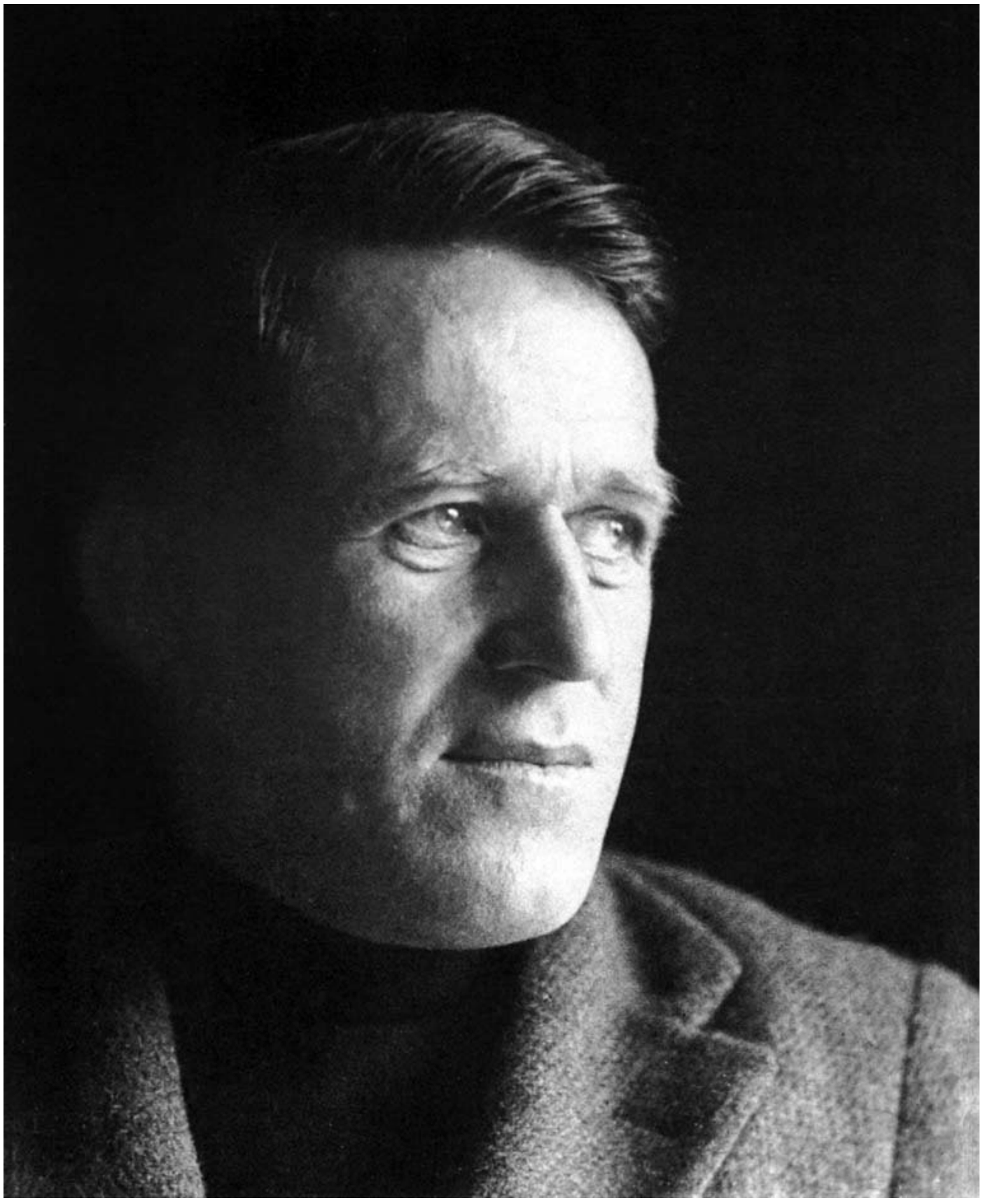

“我想，树叶从树上落下之后感觉一定就是我这样。”劳伦斯在给一位朋友的信中写道。一周之后，他在一场摩托车事故中丧生。这是劳伦斯的最后几幅正式肖像照片之一，摄于1934年12月。Bodleianref：MS. Photor. c.126，fol.75r

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如果说，阿拉伯的劳伦斯是战争面貌的描绘者，那斯科特·安德森就是劳伦斯面貌的再塑者。安德森将劳伦斯与漫游在阿拉伯战区的其他冒险家和间谍并置，精彩地再现了现代中东的形成过程。这本书的研究角度新颖独特，文字也同样异彩纷呈，令我完全置身其中，仿佛是第一次接触这个主题的书籍一般，这当真是一种深刻的、扣人心弦的阅读体验。

——塞巴斯蒂安·容格，《纽约时报》畅销书《战争》与《完美风暴》的作者

这本书在完美展现劳伦斯这一史上最具代表性的人物之一的同时，对不知名的德国和美国特工（他们几乎和劳伦斯一样古怪）的描绘同样令人满意，这些丰富立体而又颇具启发性的形象描摹，着实让人惊叹不已。这些人对我们所知世界的塑造施加了如此重大的影响，以至于现在能够阅读到他们的故事，令人觉得非常不可思议。安德森既是一位文笔优美的作家，也是一位顽强执着的研究者，更曾目睹过与自己在档案中发掘出的行径类似的匪夷所思而又毫无顾忌的恐怖事件。正因为此，即使是发生在一个世纪以前的残暴行为，他也能呈现得相当有说服力。相信这本壮阔的史诗，能让热爱20世纪大历史的人享受到涅□般的极乐。

——汤姆·赖斯，普利策奖得主，《黑伯爵》和《东方学家》的作者

《阿拉伯的劳伦斯》实在是一本令人惊叹的杰作，它敏锐而又准确地捕捉了20世纪初处于分娩阵痛之中的中东宏伟壮阔的历史，将那时的蛮勇及超现实感描绘得淋漓尽致。安德森运用最高水平的戏剧叙述手法，为劳伦斯这一在战争和政治中均永垂青史的伟大人物创作出不可磨灭的肖像。除此之外，还有一大群仿佛出自格雷厄姆·格林小说的人物，共同演绎出这部极其生动并意义深远的历史，真正不可多得。

——道格·斯坦顿，《纽约时报》畅销书《身处险境》和《骑兵》的作者

不得不承认，《阿拉伯的劳伦斯》确实是通过严谨研究和考证的成果，通篇不仅充满强有力的洞见，更遍布熠熠生辉的细节，波澜壮阔的故事背景下贯穿着无穷无尽的智慧、人性以及勇气，我在阅读的时候真切体会到一种酣畅淋漓的快感。一气呵成、引人入胜是对这本书最好的概括，从第一个词开始就让人不忍释手，我将会长久地珍爱这本书。

——康迪斯·米勒德，《纽约时报》畅销书《共和国的命运》和《疑虑之河》的作者

历史上很少有人物能够在冒险、密谋，甚至神秘莫测方面与T.E.劳伦斯相提并论。斯科特·安德森是一位不知疲倦的记者，他借助自己对阿拉伯世界的熟悉，通过孜孜不倦的求证，为我们精心重建了劳

伦斯的影子国度。安德森用激情洋溢的笔触、跌宕起伏的故事情节，带领读者共同领略伟大人物劳伦斯如何在一群恶棍和特工的陪衬下，巧妙布局，运筹帷幄，为现代中东这个烂摊子打下基础。这是一部详尽而深刻的历史，铺陈在浩瀚异常的画布之上，拂去故事卷轴的尘埃，扑面而来的便是立于中心的那位神奇诡谲、充满魅力、有深刻缺陷却又令人回味无穷的伟大人物。

——汉普顿·塞兹，《纽约时报》畅销书《地狱恶犬的追踪》的作者

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[illegible]1922[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1926[illegible]1926[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]900[illegible]

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[1] [illegible]1918[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[2] Lawrence to Liddell Hart□notes on interview of July 29□1933□p. 2□T.E. Lawrence Collection□University of Texas□T.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Folder 1□File 1.

[3] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p. 562.

[4] Lord Stamfordham□King’s Private Secretary□to Lawrence□Shaw□□January 1 and 17□1928□A.W.Lawrence□*Letters to T.E. Lawrence*□pp. 184-86. See also Graves□*Lawrence and the Arabs*□pp. 392-93□and Churchill in A. W. Lawrence□*T.E. Lawrence by His Friends*□1937□□193-94.

[5] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.274.

LAWRENCE IN ARABIA

WAR, DECEIT, IMPERIAL FOLLY AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST

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在我看来，最近发生的新危机是个福气。我相信，土耳其人最终的责任在于，要么作为一个堂堂正正的民族生存，要么光辉灿烂地退出历史舞台。

——1914年11月2日，土耳其加入第一次世界大战时，叙利亚总督杰马勒帕夏对局势的评论[1]

[illegible]1914[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]9[illegible][2][illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]800[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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他滔滔不绝的话里夹杂着一连串问题——都是貌似天真无害的问题——问我们是什么人，我们有什么打算。他推测，我们是有钱的游客，要潇潇洒洒地游览西奈和巴勒斯坦。直到客人们离去之后，我们才意识到，这个貌似乳臭未干、活力四射的小伙子把我们都榨干了。

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“[illegible]”[illegible]19[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]——[illegible]

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[1] Djemal Pasha□quoted in Aksakal□*The Ottoman Road to War*□p.19.

[2] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[3] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 1□p.10□William Yale Papers□Boston University[illegible]·[illegible]Box 7□Folder 7.

[4] [illegible]T.E.[illegible]*It Takes So Long*[illegible]“T.E. Lawrence□Scholar□Soldier□Statesman□Diplomat”[illegible]1935[illegible]William Yale Papers□Boston University[illegible]·[illegible]Box 6□Folder 1□

[5] [illegible]

[6] Yale□*The Reminiscences of William Yale*□p.7□Columbia University□Oral History Research Office□1973.

[7] McKale□*War by Revolution*□p.22□n. 18.

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你在明年冬天的发掘项目如果还有空缺，能不能安排一个叫作T.劳伦斯的牛津毕业生？他曾在卡尔基米什和我一起工作。他是个非同寻常的人，我相信你一定会认可和喜欢他……我补充一句，他对饮食和生活条件没有任何要求。

——1911年，戴维·霍格思写给埃及学家弗林德斯·皮特里的信[2]

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[illegible]1903[illegible]3[illegible]

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这家咖啡馆主楼层的边座和长凳上挤满了人，绝大多数是社会最底层的分子。在这里，赶驴人、脚夫和推着手推车叫卖的小贩摩肩接踵地坐着，安静地抽着大麻烟斗。上流社会的成员不敢涉足瓦斯阿贫民窟，生怕玷污自己的名誉。[24]

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[illegible]19[illegible]19[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible]70[illegible]1881[illegible]

[illegible]1908[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[30][illegible]

[illegible]1911[illegible]

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1907[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]400[illegible]1882[illegible]1906[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible][31][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]21[illegible]1883[illegible]60[illegible]1899[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1896[illegible][32]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][35][illegible]1907[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1909[illegible][36][illegible]

[illegible]1910[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1905[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]T.E.[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1912[illegible]“[illegible]”[37]

[illegible]1911[illegible]1913[illegible]

[illegible]1912[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]100[illegible]1912[illegible]7[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[38]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1912[illegible]

[illegible]1913[illegible]1914[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]70[illegible]

1913[illegible]9[illegible]15[illegible]10[illegible]26[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]1910[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1912[illegible][39]

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[illegible]——[illegible]Socony[illegible]——[illegible]34[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1912[illegible]

[illegible]1913[illegible]26[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]26[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]J.C.[illegible]·[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

1913[illegible]9[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]T.E.[illegible]60[illegible]

[illegible]

□□10□□

你们千万不要以为，内德过的是野蛮人的生活。火车开出车站，我看到他的最后一眼时，他穿着白色法兰绒内衣、短袜、红色拖鞋和一件白色的运动夹克，正在以贵族的姿态和比雷吉克总督侃侃而谈。[41]

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[1] □□T.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□John Mack□*A Prince of Our Disorder*□Jeremy Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□□□·□□□□□□□□□□*It Takes So Long*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Donald McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□□

[2] Hogarth to Petrie□July 10□1911□as cited by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.85.

[3] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.23.

[4] Robert Lawrence quoted in A. W. Lawrence□*T.E. Lawrence by His Friends*□1954 edition□□p.31.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□T.E.□□□□1919□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[6] Thomas□Chapman□Lawrence□undated□□Bodleian MS Eng C 6740.

[7] Lawrence to Charlotte Shaw□April 14□1927□cited by Mack□*A Prince of Our Disorder*□p.26.

[8] E. F. Hall in A. W. Lawrence□*T.E. Lawrence by His Friends*□1954 edition□□pp.44-45.

[9] H. R. Hall□as quoted in Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p. 25.

[10] Mack□*A Prince of Our Disorder*□p.33.

[11] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□pp.65-66.

[12] □49□□□□

[13] Hogarth to Robert Graves□as quoted in Graves□*Lawrence and the Arabs*□p.18.

[14] Doughty to Lawrence□February 3□1909□in A. W. Lawrence□*Letters to T.E. Lawrence*□p.37.

[15] □□□□·□□□□1858□1919□□□□□□□□□□□□26□□□□

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[17] □□□□□□□“□□□□”□

[18] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.106.

[19] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.103.

[20] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.105.

[21] McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□pp.5□152□193-94 n. 5□233 n. 28.

[22] [illegible]Fischer□*Germany's Aims in the First World War*□Macdonogh□*The Last Kaiser*□Cecil□*Wilhelm II*□vols. 1 and 2□

[23] Prüfer□*Personalbogen*□October 24□1944□National Archives□U.S.[illegible]T120□Roll 2539□FrameE309975.

[24] [illegible]·[illegible]Trina Prüfer[illegible]

[25] [illegible]·[illegible]National Archives□U.S.[illegible]RG165□Entry 67□Box 379□File PF25794□Attachment 8□

[26] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.218.

[27] [illegible]1918□7□15[illegible]Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.239□

[28] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□pp.173-74.

[29] [illegible]Aksakal□*The Ottoman Road to War in* 1914□Kent□*The Great Powers and the*

End of the Ottoman Empire□Shaw□*History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*□vols. 1 and 2□

[30] Lowther to Hardinge□May 29□1910□as cited by Yapp□*The Making of the Modern Near East*□pp.183-84.

[31] □□□□□□□□1853.10□1856.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[32] Cecil□*The German Diplomatic Service*□p.102.

[33] McMeekin□*The Berlin-Baghdad Express*□p.25.

[34] McMeekin□*The Berlin-Baghdad Express*□p.22.

[35] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□“□□□□□□”□“□□□□□□”□□

[36] McKale□*War by Revolution*□p.22.

[37] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.217.

[38] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.225.

[39] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Chernow□Titan□and Yergin□*The Prize*□

[40] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 1□p.1.

[41] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.447.

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]

我的灵魂的渴求总是越来越少。

——T.E.劳伦斯，《智慧的七柱》[1]

[illegible]1913[illegible]T.E.[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]1913[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible]”[3]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1914[illegible]

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1913[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1913[illegible]10[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]1905[illegible]7.5[illegible]1913[illegible]150[illegible]

[illegible]1912[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]19[illegible]70[illegible]1908[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]J.C.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][4]

J.C.[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]

1913[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

1[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]

J.C.[illegible]“[illegible]”[5]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]6[illegible]T. E.[illegible]

1913[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]101[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]·[illegible]37[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1913[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]37[illegible]31[illegible]

[illegible]1876[illegible]1882[illegible]7[illegible]250[illegible][7]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1884[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1893[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]19[illegible]

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1906[illegible]——[illegible]80%[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible][8]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1896[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]6[illegible]1000[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1909[illegible]70[illegible]

[illegible]1909[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]1000[illegible]”[9]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1901[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]1913[illegible][10]

[illegible]·[illegible]35[illegible][11][illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[12][illegible]

1[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]C.L.[illegible]T.E.[illegible]24[illegible]18[illegible]……[illegible]”[13]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]19[illegible]70[illegible]1882[illegible]1906[illegible]120[illegible]

[illegible]1882[illegible]1906[illegible]1914[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]100[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1914[illegible]1898[illegible][15][illegible]1902[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]1911[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][18][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[19][illegible]1911[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1912[illegible]

[illegible]1912[illegible]1812[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]1898[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[20][illegible]

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1912[illegible]1913[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]100[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]1000[illegible]·[illegible]4000[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1914[illegible]2[illegible]

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[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]

1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]J.C.[illegible][23][illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]26[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][24]

[illegible]4[illegible]J.C.[illegible]25[illegible]1914[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]25[illegible]3000[illegible]11[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]J.C.[illegible]”

3[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]

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1914[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][25][illegible]5[illegible][26][illegible]——6[illegible]29[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1914[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1914[illegible]8[illegible]

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[1] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.277.

[2] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.275.

[3] Lawrence to V. Richards□in Garnett□*The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*□pp.160-61.

[4] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□undated early drafts□William Yale Papers□Boston University□□□·□□□□□□□□□Box 8.

[5] J. C. Hill□*Yale□The Reminiscences of William Yale*□p.6□Columbia University□Oral History Research Office□1973.

[6] As cited by Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.91.

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□ Engle□*The Nili Spies*□

[8] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Laqueur□*A History of Zionism*□O’Brien□*The Siege*□Sachar□*A History of Israel*□

[9] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsoh*n□pp.90-91.

[10] Aaronsohn to Mack□“Aaron’s Confession□” October 9□1916□p.8□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[11] [illegible]——[illegible]1880[illegible]1881[illegible]1899[illegible]1902[illegible]

[12] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.239.

[13] A. W. Lawrence[illegible]*T.E. Lawrence by His Friends*[illegible]1937 edition[illegible]p.105.

[14] Lawrence[illegible]*The Home Letters*[illegible]p.280.

[15] [illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]

[16] [illegible]Moscrop[illegible]*Measuring Jerusalem*[illegible]chapter 8[illegible]

[17] Lawrence[illegible]*The Home Letters*[illegible]p.282.

[18] [illegible]1911[illegible]11[illegible]11[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/1114[illegible]File 44628[illegible]

[19] [illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/1114[illegible]File 44628[illegible]

[20] Cecil[illegible]*The German Diplomatic Service*[illegible]p.102.

[21] Lawrence to Leeds[illegible]February 28[illegible]1914[illegible]in Garnett[illegible]*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*[illegible]p.165.

[22] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.287.

[23] □□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 2□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2124□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1914□4□10□□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□M353□Roll 67□document 867.6363/4□

[25] □□□·□□□□·□□□□1884□1915□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[26] Lawrence to Flecker□“Monday □ June 1914□□” in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.171□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□25□□□□”□□□□□□□□□6□29□□

[illegible]4[illegible]
[illegible]100[illegible]

先生，我荣幸地向您汇报，此地的局势日益恶化。

——1914年11月9日，美国驻贝鲁特总领事斯坦利·霍利斯，写给国务卿。[1]

1914[illegible]8[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]40[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

19[illegible]

[illegible]1898[illegible]1[illegible]47[illegible]8[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]100[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]1000[illegible]600[illegible][3][illegible]

[illegible]40[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]1870[illegible]1871[illegible]27[illegible]13%[illegible]15%[illegible]1913[illegible]1915[illegible]50[illegible]27[illegible][4][illegible]·[illegible]1916[illegible]——[illegible]5.8[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[5][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]8[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]14[illegible]26[illegible]

T.E.[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible][6][illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9[illegible][7][illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8][illegible]50[illegible]

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9[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[9]

[illegible]·[illegible][10][illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]1916[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible][11][illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]26[illegible]

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□□36□□·□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□1914□□30□□□32□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□2□□

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]8[illegible][16][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][17]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][18][illegible]

9[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]——[illegible]20[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]32[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][21]

[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]8[illegible]2[illegible]

10[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]……[illegible]”[24]

[illegible]·[illegible][25]

[illegible]30[illegible]1000[illegible]1914[illegible]T.E.[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]26[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][26]

[illegible] 10 [illegible]

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[illegible] · [illegible] “[illegible]” [27] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] —— [illegible] —— [illegible] 10 [illegible] 19 [illegible] · [illegible] “[illegible]” [28]

[illegible] 11 [illegible] 2 [illegible]

[illegible] · [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

12[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[29]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[30][illegible]

[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[31][illegible]24[illegible]400[illegible]“[illegible]”[32][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][33][illegible]——[illegible][34][illegible]

[illegible]30%[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[35][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[36][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][37]

[illegible][38][illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]800[illegible]

[illegible]——60[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[39]

1914[illegible]12[illegible]15[illegible]T.E.[illegible]·[illegible]

1914[illegible]100[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]1911[illegible]1914[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [40]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1915[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]

1914[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[42]

[illegible]“[illegible]1914[illegible]……[illegible]”

[illegible]11[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]800[illegible]”

[illegible]A.G.[illegible]11[illegible]17[illegible]

[illegible][43]

[illegible]26[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

12[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[44]

[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]30[illegible][45]

1914[illegible]11[illegible]21[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1872[illegible]20[illegible]1913[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]42[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[46]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[47][illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[48]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]15[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible][49]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[50]

12[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[1] Hollis to Lansing□November 9□1914□National Archives□U.S.[illegible]M353□Roll 6□Decimal 867.00/713.

[2] Magnus□*Kitchener*□pp.283-84.

[3] Stevenson□1914-1918□p.54.

[4] Keegan□*The First World War*□p.7□J. Vallin□“La Mortalité pargénération en France depuis 1899 □Mortality by Generation in France Since 1899□□” Travaux et Documents□Cahier no. 63□Paris□Presses Universitaires de France□.

[5] Haig□diary entry of July 2□1916□as cited in Gilbert□*The Somme*□p.93.

[6] Lawrence to Liddell Hart□in Graves and Hart□*T.E. Lawrence*□*Letters to His Biographer*s□Pt. 2□p.90.

[7] Lawrence to Liddell Hart□in Graves and Hart□*T.E. Lawrence*□*Letters to His Biographer*s□Pt. 2□p.90.

[8] As quoted in Fischer□*War of Illusion*s□p.542.

[9] Lawrence to Rieder□September 18□1914□in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.185.

[10] □□·□□□□□1914□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 2□

[11] National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□RG84□Entry 448□Volume 14.

[12] □□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□15□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□

[13] Beaumont to Gray□August 3□1913□File 35857□No. 605□and Tewfik Pasha to Grey□August 4□1914□File 35844□No. 598□in Gooch & Temperly□*British Documents on the Origins of the War*□Vol. XI.

[14] □□□□□□□John Dye□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□RG84□Entry 35

0□Volume 101□Alex Aaronsohn□*With the Turks in Palestine*□[illegible]

[15] [illegible]1914□7□29[illegible]·□·[illegible]“[illegible]”

[16] Oppenheim to Bethmann-Hollweg□August 18□1914□National Archives□U.S.[illegible]T137□Roll 143□Frames 16-21□Der Weltkrieg no. 11□Band 1.

[17] Prüfer□*Diary*□September 8□1914□Hoover Institution□Stanford University[illegible].

[18] Oppenheim to Bethmann-Hollweg□August 18□1914□National Archives□U.S.[illegible]T137□Roll 143□Frames 16-21□Der Weltkrieg no. 11□Band 1.

[19] *New York Times*□April 20□1915.

[20] Prüfer□*Diary*□September 7□1914□Hoover Institution□Stanford University[illegible].

[21] Interrogation of Robert Mors□October 10□1914□pp. 4-5□Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/1972□File 66271.

[22] Mallet to Grey□September 15□1914□Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/1970□f. 8.

[23] Mallet to Grey□October 6□1914□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/1970□f. 93.

[24] Interrogation of Robert Mors□October 10□1914□p. 5□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□371/1972□File 66271.

[25] McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□p.31.

[26] Lawrence to “Friend□” in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.188.

[27] Lawrence to Liddell Hart□August 1□1933□in Graves and Hart□*T.E. Lawrence□Letters to His Biographers*□Pt. 2□p. 141.

[28] Lawrence to Fontana□October 19□1914□in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.187.

[29] Lawrence to Fontana□December 4□1914□in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.189.

[30] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.119.

[31] Aaronsohn□*Present Economic and Political Conditions inPalestine*□p.6□early 1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/14□f. 328.

[32] Aaronsohn□anonymous□□“Syria□Economic and Political Conditions□” Arab Bulletin no. 33□December 4□1916□□505.

[33] Kayali□*Arabs and Young Turks*□pp.187-88.

[34] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□p. 204.

[35] Aaronsohn□anonymous□□"The Jewish Colonies□" Arab Bulletin□no. 64□September 27□1917□□391.

[36] [illegible]1[illegible]·□·[illegible]

[37] Alex Aaronsohn□"Saifna Ahmar□Ya Sultan□" The Atlantic Monthly□July 1916□Vol. 118.

[38] [illegible]1914□1915[illegible]·[illegible]*A Peace to End All Peace*□□210□211[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]1914□12[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]"□□"[illegible]8.5[illegible]"[illegible]"□

[39] Aaronsohn to Rosenwald□January 21□1915□National Archives□U.S.[illegible]RG84□Entry 58□Volume 378□Decimal 800.

[40] Brown□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.69.

[41] Lawrence□“Syria□The Raw Material□” written early 1915□*Arab Bulletin* no. 44□March 12□1917□.

[42] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 3□p.1.

[43] Military Censor□Statement of W. M. Yale□November 17□1914□War Office Records□□□□□□157/688.

[44] Yale□*T.E. Lawrence□Scholar□Soldier□Statesman□Diplomat*□undated but 1935□□William Yale Papers□Boston University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 6□Folder 1.

[45] Lawrence□unsigned and undated□□handwritten notes on interview of William Yale□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/689.

[46] Morgenthau□*Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story*□p.120.

[47] Bliss□“Djemal Pasha□A Portrait□” in *The Nineteenth Century and After*□vol. 86□New York□Leonard Scott□July-December 1919□□p.1151.

[48] Bliss□“Djemal Pasha□A Portrait□” in *The Nineteenth Century and After*□vol. 86□New York□Leonard Scott□July-December 1919□□p.1153.

[49] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□pp.141-42.

[50] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□p. 143.

[51] Prüfer to Oppenheim□December 31□1914□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roll21128□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g□Band 6.

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在叙利亚方面，我们的敌人不是土耳其，而是法国。

——1915年2月，T.E.劳伦斯写给家人的信[1]

[illegible]

1915[illegible]1[illegible]150[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible][2]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]700[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]100[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

1914[illegible]12[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]22[illegible][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][illegible][3]

[illegible]1915[illegible]1[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]1915[illegible]1[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]——[illegible]”[5]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]4[illegible]1915[illegible]1[illegible]120[illegible]1.

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1915[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]10[illegible]4[illegible]600[illegible][10]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[12]

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[illegible]1914[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[15][illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] 2 [illegible] “[illegible]” [16]

[illegible] 2 [illegible] 19 [illegible] [17] [illegible]

T.E. [illegible] 2 [illegible] 19 [illegible] · [illegible]

[illegible] 3 [illegible] 18 [illegible] ——“[illegible]”—— [illegible] “[illegible] 10 [illegible] …… [illegible] …… [illegible]” [18]

[illegible] 3[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible][19]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[20][illegible]1915[illegible]3[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]

1915[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]26[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible][21][illegible]·[illegible]1913[illegible]1914[illegible]4.5[illegible]

[illegible][22][illegible]50[illegible]1/10[illegible][23]

[illegible][24][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][25][illegible]27[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]1915[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1915[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]21[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[27]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——39[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]27[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[30]

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[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]31[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]1914[illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[35][illegible]

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[illegible]1909[illegible]28[illegible]

[illegible]1911[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]1914[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]T.E.[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible][37][illegible]”[38]

[illegible]1915[illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]2[illegible]——32[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]12[illegible]6[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[39]

[illegible]1914[illegible]4[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41]

[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”。[42]

[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1915[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]

T.E.[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[43][illegible]1/4[illegible]1[illegible][44]

[illegible]50[illegible]3[illegible]100[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]3000[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][45]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [46]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]200[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[48]

[illegible]4000[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]1922[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][49][illegible]

[illegible]50[illegible]4[illegible]25[illegible]200[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]100[illegible][50][illegible]

[illegible]1915[illegible]

1915[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible][51]

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[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

3[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

T.E.[illegible]

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[1] Lawrence[illegible]*The Home Letters*[illegible]p.303.

[2] Intelligence Department “Note[illegible]” January 3[illegible]1915[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible]371/2480[illegible]f. 137.

[3] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1914[illegible]12[illegible]22[illegible]1915[illegible]1[illegible]14[illegible]J. B. Jackson[illegible]National Archives[illegible]U.S.[illegible]RG84[illegible]Entry 81[illegible]Box 12[illegible]Decimal 820[illegible]

[4] Untitled Intelligence Department report advocating landing at Alexandretta[illegible]January 5[illegible]1915[illegible]Sudan Archives[illegible]University of Durham[illegible] Clayton Papers[illegible]File 694/3/7[illegible]p.3.

[5] Lawrence to Hogarth□January 15□1915□in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.191.

[6] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□p.154.

[7] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□pp.154-55.

[8] Prüfer□*Diary*□January 26□1915□Hoover Institution□Stanford University□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[9] Prüfer□*Diary*□January 30□1915.

[10] Erickson□*Ordered to Die*□p.71.

[11] Prüfer to von Wangenheim and Oppenheim□February 9□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 23□Frame 862.

[12] Prüfer to Oppenheim□February 9□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 23□Frame 868.

[13] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gottlieb□*Studies in Secret Diplomacy*□pp.77-87□

[14] M.O.2 report□"Expedition to Alexandretta□" January 11□1915□p.2□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 106/1570.

[15] p.p.Graves□"Report on Turkish Military Preparations and Political Intrigues Having an Attack on Egypt as Their Ob

ject□” November 10□1914□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/1970□f. 187.

[16] Lawrence to parents□February 20□1915□in Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.303.

[17] Gottlieb□*Studies in Secret Diplomacy*□p.109.

[18] Lawrence to Hogarth□March 18□1915□in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□pp.193-94.

[19] Hickey□*Gallipoli*□p.72.

[20] □□□1993□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[21] Manuel□*Realities of American-Palestine Relations*□p. 267. Also□“Mines and Quarries of Palestine in 1921 by the Geological Adviser□”□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□M353□Roll 87□document 867N.63/1.

[22] Cole□director of Socony□to Under-Secretary of State Polk□September 18□1919□William Yale Collection□University of New Hampshire□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Box 2.

[23] Cole□director of Socony□to Under-Secretary of State Polk□May 5□1919□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□RG59□Central Decimal File□1920-1929□document 467.11st 25/31.

[24] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 4□p.3□and pp.24-25.

[25] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 3□p.12□and chapter 4□p.3.

[26] Lewis□“An Ottoman Officer in Palestine□1914-1918□” in Kushner□*Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period*□p.404.

[27] Bliss□“Djemal Pasha□A Portrait□” in *The Nineteenth Century and After*□vol. 86□New York□Leonard Scott□July-December 1919□□p.1156.

[28] Ballobar□*Jerusalem in World War I*□p.55.

[29] □□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□Alex Aaronsohn□*With the Turks in Palestine*□p.51.

[30] As quoted by Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.129□Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.45.

[31] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.60.

[32] □□□

[33] □□□464□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[34] [illegible]Antonius，*The Arab Awakening*，pp.125-58；Baker，*King Husain and the Kingdom of Hejaz*，pp.12-45；Kayali，*Arabs and Young Turks*，pp.144-73.

[35] Prüfer to Oppenheim，November 3，1914，National Archives，U.S.[illegible]T137，Roll 23，Frame 213.

[36] Prüfer to Metternich，January 22，1916，National Archives，U.S.[illegible]T130，Roll 457，Türkei 65，Band 38.

[37] [illegible]310[illegible]250[illegible]

[38] Storrs，*Memoirs*，p.202.

[39] Storrs，*Memoirs*，p.135.

[40] Kitchener to Consul-General，Cairo，September 24，1914，Foreign Office Records，[illegible] 141/460.

[41] Antonius，*The Arab Awakening*，p.132.

[42] Draft of letter from Kitchener to Sherif Abdalla，November 1914，Foreign Office Records，[illegible] 141/460.

[43] Lawrence to Hogarth，April 20，1915，in Garnett，*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*，p.196.

[44] Lawrence to Hogarth[illegible]April 20[illegible]1915[illegible]in Garnett[illegible]*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*[illegible]p.197.

[45] Guinn[illegible]*British Strategy and Politics*[illegible]p.70[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”

[46] Lawrence to Hogarth[illegible]April 26[illegible]1915[illegible]in Garnett[illegible]*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*[illegible]p.198.

[47] [illegible]1915[illegible]4[illegible]25[illegible]Alan Moorehead[illegible]Peter Hart[illegible]*Gallipoli*[illegible]Robin Prior[illegible]*Gallipoli*[illegible]*The End of the Myth*[illegible]

[48] Weldon[illegible]*Hard Lying*[illegible]pp.68-69.

[49] “[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[50] [illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]300[illegible]

[51] [illegible]1915[illegible]Dawn[illegible]*From Ottomanism to Arabism*[illegible]pp.26-31[illegible]Tauber[illegible]*The Arab Movements in World War I*[illegible]pp.57-67[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]

你知道，人几乎全都是大笑着死去，因为他们知道死亡非常恐怖，在它到来之前最好把它忘掉。

——1916年，T.E.劳伦斯写给母亲的信[1]

1915[illegible]4[illegible]

我们编辑一份绝对没有经过任何审查的日报，宗旨是为了教诲28位将军。他们发明新的将军的时候，报纸的发行量就会自动增加。这份报纸是我唯一的乐趣。写稿的人可以假想自己和战俘交谈，捏造土耳其人视角的说法，我作为主编就把这些假信息掺和进去。每周还要给“母亲”（伦敦的陆军部）写封信，在信里可以更大范围地逗弄打趣。[2]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1915[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible][3][illegible]

[illegible]1914[illegible]11[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[4][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1913[illegible]1914[illegible]·[illegible][5]

[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1915[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1915[illegible]3[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][9][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1915[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[10]

[illegible]·[illegible][11][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1904[illegible]1915[illegible][12][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[13]1915[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]T.E.[illegible]——22[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][14][illegible]2[illegible]

T.E.[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]

我收到你们的电报后没有回信，是因为在等待更多细节。今天我收到了父亲的两封信，读之颇感慰藉，我希望我死时没有什么值得遗憾的事情。我唯一有所感触的是，肯定没有必要为他哀悼吧？我看不到任何如此行事的理由。无论如何，能为国捐躯已是无上光荣。您和母亲白发人送黑发人的痛苦比他死亡的痛苦还要大，但我认为，在此时，我们有义务隐藏任何会让他人难过的感情，如果做出悲痛欲绝的姿态肯定会影响他人。

所以请你们勇敢地直面世界。我们不能全都上战场，但我们都能勇敢坚强，这和上战场是一样的。内德。[15]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

可怜的亲爱的母亲，

我今天早上收到了你的信，让我非常难过。我们兄弟几个长大了一些之后，你就永远没办法理解我们了。你难道没有感到，我们无须用语言表达，也一直爱着你？我不得不这样写信，感到自己是个可鄙的虫豸。如果你知道，人若是对事情深刻地思考，就宁愿死也不愿说出来。你知道，人几乎全都是大笑着死去，因为他们知道死亡非常恐怖，在它到来之前最好把它忘掉。

把哀恸搁在一边，在世人勉强勇敢些，不要再为弗兰克痛哭流涕了吧。在我国处于如此恐怖的压力之下的时节，我们的责任就是小心谨慎，以免感情脆弱的人受到影响；你知道，我们一家向来是很坚强的，如果他们看到你因伤心而垮掉，就都会为自己在前线的亲人担惊受怕。[16]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

1915[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]25[illegible]

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[illegible]1915[illegible]30[illegible]

8[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][38][illegible]——[illegible]24[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]25[illegible][39][illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]1915[illegible]

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> 我今天早上写了这么寥寥几笔，因为我很吃惊地发现，今天已经是圣诞节了。恐怕你们在今天不会开心了。但你们还有鲍勃和阿尼，很多人还不如你们幸运。振作精神，希冀未来。这里一切照常，只是昨天下了场瓢泼大雨，最近比较凉快。[51]

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[1] Lawrence[illegible]*The Home Letters*[illegible]p.304.

[2] Lawrence to Bell[illegible]April 18[illegible]1915[illegible]in Brown[illegible]*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*[illegible]p.71.

[3] Prüfer to von Wangenheim[illegible]February 9[illegible]1915[illegible]National Archives[illegible]U.S.[illegible]T137[illegible]Roll 23[illegible]Frame 862.

[4] Prüfer to[illegible]illegible[illegible]February 24[illegible]1915[illegible]National Archives[illegible]U.S.[illegible]T137[illegible]Roll 24[illegible]Frame 390.

[5] [illegible]·[illegible]McKale[illegible]*Curt Prüfer*[illegible]p.42[illegible]

[6] See Prüfer□*Diary*□October 26□1914□January 27□1915□May 5 and June 25□1916□Hoover Institution□Stanford University□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[7] Prüfer to Djemal Pasha□March 1□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 24□Frames 271-73□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roll 21131□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g□Band 9.

[8] Prüfer to Djemal Pasha□March 1□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 24□Frames 271-73□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roll 21131□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g□Band 9.

[9] Cohn□“Report□” July 16□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 24□Frame 697.

[10] Steinbach to Ziemke□August 3□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 24□Frame 779.

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1912□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[12] McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□p.203 n. 18.

[13] Von Wangenheim to Bethmann-Hollweg□in cover letter□March 3□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 23□Frame 862.

[14] See Lawrence□*The Home Letters of T.E. Lawrence and His Brothers*□pp.653-720.

[15] Lawrence to family□June 4□1915□Bodleian MS Eng C 6740.

[16] Lawrence to Sarah Lawrence□undated□Bodleian MS Eng C 6740.

[17] Dawn□*From Ottomanism to Arabism*□p.30□Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□p.213.

[18] Lewy□*The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*□p.28□□1.3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□30□□□□Lewy□□□□□5□□8□□□□□□□

[19] As cited by Lewy□*The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*□p.151.

[20] US Department of State telegram to US Embassy□Constantinople□May 29□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□M353□Roll 43□document 867.4016/67.

[21] As cited by Lewy□*The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*□p.153.

[22] □□1915□1916□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lewy□*The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*□

[23] □□□□□□□□Vanakh Dadrian□*The Key Elements in the Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide*□p.54□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□Vehib Pasha□□□”

[24] As cited by Lewy□*The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*□p.197. See also Metternich to Bethmann-Hollweg□December 9□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□T139□Roll 463□Band 40.

[25] Lewy□*The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*□p.192.

[26] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 1□1915□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[27] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 27□1915.

[28] Quoted in Gorni□*Zionism and the Arabs*□p.56.

[29] Quoted in Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.47.

[30] □□·□□□1915□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 4□

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[33] *New York Times*[illegible]July 29[illegible]1915.

[34] 10[illegible]

[35] [illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1842[illegible]1905[illegible]

[36] [illegible]·[illegible]1834[illegible]1896[illegible]

[37] Lawrence to Will Lawrence[illegible]July 7[illegible]1915[illegible]Bodleian MS Eng C 6740.

[38] [illegible]·[illegible]1915[illegible]1916[illegible]1922[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1989[illegible]*A Peace to End All Peace*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]—[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]

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[39] Hamilton to Kitchener□August 25□1915□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/2490.

[40] □□□□·□□□□□8□25□□□□□□□□□□1915□10□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/2486□f. 223-28□Faroki’s own statement□entitled “‘A’ Statement of Sherif El Ferugi”□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2486□f. 229-38□and in “Notes on Captain X□” and “Statement of Ca

ptain X□” September 12□1915□Intelligence Department□War Office□Cairo□Foreign Office Records□[illegible] 882/2□

[41] Storrs□“Memorandum□” August 19□1915□Foreign Office Records□[illegible] 371/2486□f. 150.

[42] Cited in Antonius□*The Arab Awakening*□pp.414-15.

[43] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.172.

[44] [illegible]Levant[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[45] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.310.

[46] As quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence*□p.223.

[47] As quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence*□p.224.

[48] Panouse to Robertson□November 13□1915□reprinted in War Office Records□[illegible] 33/747□p.811.

[49] Liddell Hart□*Colonel Lawrence□The Man Behind the Legend*□p.38.

[50] Lawrence to Sarah Lawrence□undated□Bodleian MS Eng C 6740.

[51] Lawrence，*The Home Letters*，pp.310-11.

[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]

本人窃以为，我们现在的情况就好像是，猎人在还没有打死熊之前就已经在盘算如何分熊皮了。我个人还看不到战争结束的迹象，所以我认为目前讨论如何瓜分土耳其帝国主要是个学术问题。

——1916年1月7日，英国军事情报部门指挥官，乔治·麦克多纳将军[1]

1915[illegible]11[illegible]16[illegible]T.E.[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]11[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

我希望你那边一切顺利。我们心急火燎地等待汤森得到救援的捷报，但是很久都没有得到任何音讯。[27]

[illegible]

[illegible]100[illegible]

[illegible]

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4[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]T.E.[illegible]

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[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]T.E.[illegible]

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[1] Macdonogh to Nicolson[illegible]January 7[illegible]1916[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/16.

[2] Lawrence to Leeds[illegible]November 16[illegible]1915[illegible]in Brown[illegible]*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*[illegible]pp.78-79.

[3] [illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]

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[4] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[5] Sykes to Cox[illegible]undated but late November 1915[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible]882/2.

[6] Sykes to General E. C. Callwell□Director of Military Operations□War Office□August 2□1915□Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/13□f. 367-71.

[7] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.58.

[8] [illegible]19[illegible]

[9] [illegible]

[10] Prüfer to Djemal Pasha□December 5□1915□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes[illegible]Roll 21138□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g□Band 16.

[11] Metternich to Bethmann-Hollweg□December 23□1915□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes[illegible]Roll 21138□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g□Band 16.

[12] Aaronsohn□“Addendum to ‘Report of an inhabitant of Athlit□Mount Carmel□Syria□’” undated but November 1916□Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/2783.

[13] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□pp.62-64□Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.205□Engle□Florence[illegible]

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[14] Chamberlain to Hardinge□October 22□1915□Foreign Office Records□□□□□ 371/2486□f. 254.

[15] □□□□□□□□□□Foreign Office Records□□□□□ 371/2486□f. 204-8□□□□□□10□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[16] Tanenbaum□*France and the Arab Middle East*□p.8.

[17] “Results of second meeting of Committee to discuss Arab question and Syria□” November 23□1915□Foreign Office Records□□□□□ 882/2□f. 156-60.

[18] Sykes and Picot joint memorandum□“Arab Question□” January 5□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□ 371/2767□□□□□□—□□□·□□□□□□□*The Question of Palestine*□*Palestine*□*A Twice-Promised Land*□□□□□□□□□□*A Peace to End All Peace*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1915□10□24□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Question of Palestine*□p.90□□□□“□□□□□□10□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□□□□□□□□

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[19] Lawrence to Liddell Hart[illegible]notes from interview[illegible]undated[illegible]T.E. Lawrence Collection[illegible]University of Texas[illegible]T.E.[illegible]Folder 1[illegible]File 1.

[20] Lawrence[illegible]“The Politics of Mecca[illegible]” forwarded by McMahon to Grey[illegible]February 7[illegible]1916[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/2771[illegible]f. 151-56.

[21] As quoted in Wilson[illegible]*Lawrence of Arabia*[illegible]p.249.

[22] As quoted in Wilson[illegible]*Lawrence of Arabia*[illegible]p.249.

[23] Lawrence[illegible]“The Politics of Mecca[illegible]” p.1[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/2771[illegible]f. 152.

[24] Millar[illegible]*Death of an Army*[illegible]pp.204-5.

[25] [illegible]9000[illegible]12000[illegible]

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[27] McMahon to Cox□March 20□1916□as quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.259.

[28] A.W.Lawrence□*T.E. Lawrence by His Friends*□1937 edition□□p.301.

[29] Lake to Secretary of State□India□□March 30□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2768□f. 36.

[30] Robertson to Lake□March 16□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/669□no. 197.

[31] □□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapters 4 and 5.

[32] Ballobar□*Jerusalem in World War I*□p.75.

[33] Edelman to Socony□Constantinople□March 29□1916□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□RG 84□Entry 350□Volume 30□Decimal 300— general.

[34] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 5□pp.7-8.

[35] Herbert□*Mons□Kut and Anzac*□p.232.

[36] Herbert diary□as quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence*□p.272[illegible]Herbert□*Mons*□*Kut and Anzac*□p.228[illegible]“[illegible]”

[37] Herbert□*Mons*□*Kut and Anzac*□p.234.

[38] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.324.

[39] [illegible]——□Crowley[illegible]*Kut* 1916□p.253[illegible]2592[illegible]1755[illegible]Millar□*Death of an Army*□p.284[illegible]1924[illegible]

[40] Nash□*Chitral Charlie*□pp.274-79.

[41] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□p. 216.

[42] Djemal Pasha□*Memories of a Turkish Statesman*□pp.216-17.

[43] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□ p.59.

[44] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□ p.386.

[45] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□ p.25.

[46] [illegible]

[47] Baker□*King Husain and the Kingdom of Hejaz*□pp.98-99. Baker[illegible]6□10[illegible]

LAWRENCE IN ARABIA

WAR, DECEIT, IMPERIAL FOLLY AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST

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汉志战争的双方是德尔维希[1]和正规军——而我们站在德尔维希那边。

——T.E.劳伦斯，1916年11月3日[2]

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[2] T.E. Lawrence□“Military Notes□” November 3□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 63.

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□1916□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□882/5□f. 22-38□□□□□□□□□□□□Storrs□*Memoirs*□pp.186-95□

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□“□□”□□□□□□□□□1928□□1916□□□□□□□□1925□□□□□□□□·□□□□□1927□□□□□□□□□□

[5] Barr□*Setting the Desert on Fire*□pp.9-10.

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[7] Storrs□*Memoirs*□p.176.

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[9] Wilson to Arab Bureau□October 10□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□882/5□f. 8-9. Also Clayton to Wingate□

October 12□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 12-14.

[10] Storrs□*Memoirs*□p.203.

[11] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.63.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□Clayton to Wingate□October 9□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□W/141/3/35□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[13] □□□□□1916□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□book 1□chapters 8-16□pp.65-108□

[14] Storrs Papers□Pembroke College□Cambridge□as cited by Barr□*Setting the Desert on Fire*□p.65.

[15] Storrs Papers□Pembroke College□Cambridge□as cited by Barr□*Setting the Desert on Fire*□p.65.

[16] Storrs□*Memoirs*□p.189.

[17] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.67.

[18] Storrs□*Memoirs*□p.190.

[19] Porte□Lt. Col. Remi□“General édouard Brémond□1868-1948□□” Cahiers du CESAT□bulletin of the College of Higher Learning of the Army of France□□issue 15□March 2009□.

[20] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.111.

[21] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 299-306□and Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2779□File 152849□

[22] Lawrence memorandum for Clayton□November 17□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Clayton Papers□694/4/42□. Also Brémond to Defrance□October 16□1917□as cited by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.309.

[23] □□□□□□□□□1916□11□27□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Brémond□*Le Hedjaz dans la Guerre Mondiale*□p.97□

[24] Storrs□*Memoirs*□p.204.

[25] Lawrence□*The Sherifs*□October 27□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 40.

[26] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.76.

[27] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.77.

[28] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.83.

[29] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“Feisal’s Operations□” October 30□1916□and “Military Notes□” November 3□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 47-8□and f. 63□

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费萨尔脾气火爆，骄傲而缺乏耐心，有时蛮横不讲理，很容易突然间离题万里。比他的兄弟们更具有个人魅力和精力，但不如他们审慎。显然非常聪明，或许并非过分一丝不苟……如果他被教养的方式不对，或许会成为一个兵营军官。深受民众爱戴，雄心勃勃；满脑子梦想，也有实现梦想的本领。

——1916年10月30日，T.E.劳伦斯对费萨尔·伊本·侯赛因的评价[1]

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> 在这里，我很幸运，人们急切地听我说话，他们的头脑也很开明。我有理由相信，如果我们的英国朋友早一些得知情况，一定会采取相应的措施。如果我早一点抵达，或许可以更好地为我们的事业服务，让我们的国家少受一些苦难，为我们的朋友们也能多尽一分力。[17]

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[1] Lawrence□*The Sherifs*□October 27□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 41.

[2] Wilson□*Notes on the Military Situation in the Hedjaz*□September 11□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/4□f. 329.

[3] Minutes of Conference held at Commander-in-Chief's Residence□Ismailia□September 12□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/4□f. 333.

[4] Boyle□*My Naval Life*□p.99.

[5] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.143.

[6] Wingate to Foreign Office□November 2□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/603.

[7] Arabian Report no. 16□November 2□1916□□British Cabinet Records□□□□□□□□ 17/177□p.2. Also□Wilson to Arab Bureau□November 1□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/603□f. 49A.

[8] Parker to Arab Bureau□November 2□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/603□f. 17b.

[9] Brémond report□January 2□1917□as quoted by Tanenbaum□*France and the Arab Middle East*□p.19.

[10] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□October 25□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[11] Katz□*The Aaronsohn Saga*□p.6.

[12] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□October 25□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[13] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.77.

[14] Aaronsohn "confession" to Julius Mack□October 9□1916□pp.12-13□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

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[16] Thomson□*My Experiences at Scotland Yard*□ pp.225-26□and The Scene Changes□pp.387-88.

[17] Aaronsohn to Alex and Rivka Aaronsohn□October 28□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[18] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.57.

[19] Wingate to Clayton□November 7□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/603□f. 79A.

[20] French Embassy□London□to Foreign Office□November 8□1916□as quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.325.

[21] Wingate to Robertson□November 12□1916□as repeated by Wingate to Murray□November 18□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/627□f. 10A□p.4.

[22] Lawrence□*Report*□November 17□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□ 106/1511□f. 34-36.

[23] Lawrence□*Report*□November 17□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□ 106/1511□f. 34-36.

[24] Parker to Wingate□July 6□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□W/138/3/69.

[25] Minutes of Conference held at Commander-in-Chief's Residence□Ismailia□September 12□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/4□f. 333.

[26] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.112.

[27] Murray to Wingate□November 17□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/627□f. 7A.

[28] Robertson□*The Occupation of El Arish*□November 19□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□ 106/1511□f. 34.

[29] Sykes□*Appreciation of Arabian Report*□No. XVIII□November 20□1916□British Cabinet Records□□□□□□□□ 17/177.

[30] Cited by Wilson□*Lawrence*□pp.327-28.

[31] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.112.

[32] Robertson to Murray□November 22□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□158/604□f. 75A.

[33] Murray to Robertson□November 23□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/604□f. 76A.

[34] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□November 11□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[35] W.T.I.D.□Report of Inhabitant of Athlit□November 2□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2783.

[36] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□November 24□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[37] Schneer□*The Balfour Declaration*□pp.135-45.

[38] Sykes to Buchanan□March 14□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□371/2767□File 938.

[39] Sykes to Buchanan□March 14□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□371/2767□File 938.

[40] Edward Grey notes on Sykes's cable to Buchanan□March 15□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2767□Fi

le 938.

[41] Adelson□Mark Sykes□p.213.

[42] Friedman□*The Question of Palestine*□p.122.

[43] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□October 30□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[44] Wingate to Clayton□November 11□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□□158/604□f. 18A.

[45] Joffre to Brémond□November 27□1916□as cited byBrémond□*Le Hedjaz dans la Guerre Mondiale*□p.97.

[46] Clayton to Wingate□November 23□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□143/6/44.

[47] Wingate to Wilson□November 23□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□143/6/54.

[48] Wilson to Clayton□November 22□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Clayton Papers□470/5/7.

[49] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.114.

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这里的情况非常有趣，我想我可能不会回去了。

——1916年12月27日，T.E.劳伦斯在阿拉伯半岛写给开罗总部的信[1]

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他（卡里姆）叫我出来看，并挥舞着胳膊，半是忧伤地说：“我们不再是阿拉伯人，而是一个民族。”他也颇感骄傲，因为向沃季赫

的进军是他们最大规模的一次努力。在当代人记忆所及的历史之内，这是整个部落的男子第一次全体出动，携带着运输工具、武器和足够200英里路程使用的粮草，离开自己的区域，进入别人的领地，而并不是为了劫掠或者复仇。[45]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]

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[1] Lawrence to K. C. Cornwallis[illegible]December 12[illegible]1916[illegible]War Office Records[illegible]882/6[illegible]f. 25A.

[2] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.118.

[3] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.118.

[4] Lawrence□*Faisal's Operations*□October 30□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 43.

[5] Lawrence to Clayton□December 5□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/6□f. 6.

[6] Lawrence□*Military Notes□Possibilities*□November 3□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 57.

[7] Lawrence□*Faisal's Operations*□October 30□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/5□f. 44.

[8] Lawrence to Clayton□December 5□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/6□f. 8.

[9] Lawrence to Clayton□undated but December 11□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□882/6□f. 123.

[10] Wilson to Clayton□December 12□1916□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/604□f. 206A.

[11] Ballobar□*Jerusalem in World War I*□p.98.

[12] Metternich to German Foreign Ministry□May 2□1916□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 25□Frame 384.

[13] Prüfer□Vertraulich□August 6□1915□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 24□Frames 790-97.

[14] Prüfer□*Diary*□May 8 and 14□1916□Hoover Institution□Stanford University□□□□□□□□.

[15] Prüfer□*Diary*□June 9□1916.

[16] Prüfer□*Diary*□July 8□1916.

[17] □□48.9□□□□

[18] Prüfer□*Diary*□May 13□1916.

[19] Nadolny to German Embassy/Constantinople□October 27□1916□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□Roll 21142□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g adh.□Band 1.

[20] Prüfer to Central Office of German Foreign Ministry□January 22□1917□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roll 21142□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g adh.□Band 1.

[21] McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□pp.50-51.

[22] Wingate to Foreign Office and Murray□December 14□1916□War Office Records□□□□□ 158/604□f. 211A.

[23] □□□□1916□10□30□□□“Feisal’s Operations”□Foreign Office Records□□□□□ 882/5□f. 42-51□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]book 1[illegible]chapters 14 and 15[illegible]and book 2[illegible]chapter 19[illegible]

[24] [illegible]

[25] Lawrence to Clayton[illegible]December 5[illegible]1916[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6[illegible]f. 7.

[26] Lawrence to Clayton[illegible]December 5[illegible]1916[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6[illegible]f. 6.

[27] Lawrence to Clayton[illegible]December 11[illegible]1916[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6[illegible]f.122.

[28] Lawrence to K. C. Cornwallis[illegible]December 27[illegible]1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible]882/5[illegible]f. 25A.

[29] Loytved-Hardegg to unknown addressee[illegible]May 6[illegible]1916[illegible]National Archives[illegible]U.S.[illegible]T139[illegible]Roll 457.

[30] 1915[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]National Archives[illegible]U.S.[illegible]T137[illegible]Reel 139[illegible]Frame 79[illegible]

[31] Vester[illegible]*Our Jerusalem*[illegible]pp.243-54.

[32] Bliss to Edelman□March 11□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□RG84□Entry 306□Volume 34.

[33] Edelman to Elkus□January 20□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□□RG84□Entry 306□Volume 34.

[34] □□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapters 5 and 6□

[35] Lawrence to Wilson□January 8□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/6□f.127-28.

[36] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.333.

[37] Brown□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.102.

[38] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1916□12□□1917□1□□□□□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[39] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□December 14□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[40] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□December 16□1916□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[41] "Jewish Colonies in Palestine□" Arab Bulletin□January 19□1917□□p.35.

[42] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□January 24□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[43] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□January 26□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[44] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□January 30□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[45] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.152.

[46] Wemys’s report to Secretary of the Admiralty□January 30□1917□Admiralty Records□□□□□□ 137/548□f. 114-15.

[47] Bray□*Arab Bulletin* no. 41□February 6□1917□□p.68.

[48] Lawrence to Wilson□December 19□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/6□f. 49.

[49] J. C. Watson□report□January 11□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/605□p.4.

[50] Vickery□Memorandum on the General Situation in Arabia□February 2□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/6□f. 152.

[51] Wilson to Arab Bureau□Cairo□January 25□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 141/736.

[illegible]11[illegible]

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一个人或许能明白无误地毁掉自己，但毁掉阿拉伯人的纯真无邪和理性主义却需要我来帮忙，实在可憎。我们需要打赢这场战争，而他们的灵感是最佳的工具。这项努力本身就应当是它自己的报偿——被欺骗的人或许还能得到这报偿——但我们，这些当主子的，却在虚假的合约中向他们许下了不能兑现的诺言，这是在拿生命讨价还价。

——T.E.劳伦斯，《智慧的七柱》[1]

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1917[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][2][illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[20][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]……[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[23][illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]40[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]

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[illegible]T.E.[illegible]

3[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]500[illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

我认为，土耳其军队撤退方案的弱点在于运输饮水和粮草的火车。如果我们能严重破坏铁路，让他们无法修复，或者摧毁他们的火车头，那么他们的部队就会停滞不前……要是能阻滞他们10天就好了。恐怕形势非常危险，一触即发。如果能找得到瞬发引信，我会携

带一些加兰德地雷。如果时间够的话，我会把地雷布设在尽可能接近麦地那的地方：部分是由于这个原因，我打算自己去。[29]

3[illegible]10[illegible]14[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[30][illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[35][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]3[illegible]26[illegible]·[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]29[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [37]

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3[illegible]28[illegible] [38] [illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]400[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible]10[illegible]

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3[illegible]29[illegible]

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[illegible]800[illegible]300[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]400[illegible]1[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

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4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[42]

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[1] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□Oxford□□chapter 51.

[2] Lawrence□“Faisal’s Order of March□” Arab Bulletin no. 41□February 6□1917□□66.

[3] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.167.

[4] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□February 1□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI[illegible].

[5] Lloyd to Wingate□November 24□1916□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·[illegible]9/8.

[6] Minutes of Conference held at Commander-in-Chief’s Office□September 5□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Clayton Papers□694/4/8-11.

[7] Pearson to Clayton□undated□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/627□f. 108A.

[8] Murray to Wingate□January 22□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 158/627□f. 113A.

[9] Cited by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.294 n. 47.

[10] Wingate to Pearson□January 24□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□□158/627□f. 114A.

[11] Newcombe to Wilson□February 4□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/9.

[12] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.167.

[13] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.168.

[14] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□Oxford□□chapter 30.

[15] □□□1917□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 6□

[16] Clayton “Appreciation” of Aqaba landing□January 1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Clayton Papers□694/5/17-21.

[17] Jeremy Wilson[illegible]*Lawrence of Arabia*[illegible]1917[illegible]2[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1917[illegible]2[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[18] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.168.

[19] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.661.

[20] Lawrence[illegible]*Diary*[illegible]February 18[illegible]1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6[illegible]f. 180.

[21] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible] p.169.

[22] Joyce to Wilson[illegible]April 1[illegible]1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6[illegible]f. 227.

[23] Pearson to Clayton[illegible]March 4[illegible]1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6[illegible]f. 194.

[24] [illegible]

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□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] Stitt□*A Prince of Arabia*□pp.177-78.

[26] Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.379.

[27] Lawrence to Wilson□as cited by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.380.

[28] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.177.

[29] Lawrence to Wilson□as cited by Wilson□Lawrence of Arabia□p.380.

[30] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.180.

[31] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.176.

[32] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□pp.181-82.

[33] 1 Samuel 15□29□as translated in NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Archives.

[34] Wingate to Balfour□February 7□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3049□File41442.

[35] Personalities of South Syria□North Palestine□May 1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□371/3051.

[36] Aaronsohn□*Present Economic and Political Conditions in Palestine*□pp.20-21□Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/14□f. 342-43.

[37] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 3□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI[illegible].

[38] T.E.[illegible]Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□book 3□chapters 32-36□pp.183-215.

[39] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.216.

[40] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.225.

[41] [illegible]□1917□2[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]37[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]2[illegible]4[illegible]

[42] Faisal to Lawrence□undated but notated "about the end of March□"1917□Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/6□f. 18A.

[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]

各级官兵都认为，这是一场辉煌胜利，如果当天早些时候进展正常，原本就能稳操胜券。

——1917年3月28日，查尔斯·多贝尔中将对英军在加沙战败的评价[1]

[illegible]

[illegible]1917[illegible]4[illegible]14[illegible]35[illegible]

3[illegible]300[illegible]4[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[2][illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]26[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4000[illegible]2000[illegible]“[illegible]”[3][illegible]4[illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]50[illegible]40[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]28[illegible]13[illegible]1900[illegible]

[illegible]75[illegible]……[illegible]” [4]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[7][illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]14[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

4[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

1917[illegible]4[illegible]18[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]1917[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[9]

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[illegible]——[illegible]—[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]2[illegible]22[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[10] [illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

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[illegible]1916[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[12][illegible]

[illegible]1916[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]1916[illegible]1917[illegible]2[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13][illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1915[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1917[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”

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[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]45[illegible]

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[1] Dobell□as cited by Keogh□*Suez to Aleppo*□p.102.

[2] Wilson□*War Message to Congress*□April 2□1917.

[3] Moore□*The Mounted Riflemen in Sinai and Palestine*□p.67.

[4] Lawrence□“The Howeitat and their Chiefs□” Arab Bulletin no. 57□July 24□1917□□309-10.

[5] Lawrence to Liddell Hart□October 31□1933□Graves and Hart□*T.E. Lawrence□Letters to His Biographers*□Pt. 2□pp. 188-89.

[6] Clayton directive of March 8□1917□with copies to Wingate□C. Wilson□and Lawrence□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 686/6□f. 46.

[7] Clayton to Wingate□May 29□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/6□f. 388.

[8] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.222.

[9] Lyndon Bell to Lloyd□March 17□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/3.

[10] Sykes to Wingate□February 22□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/16□f. 58.

[11] Foreign Office to Wingate□March 14□1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□145/3/38.

[12] Grey to Buchanan□ambassador to Russia□March 16□1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/2767□Registry 49669.

[13] Adelson□*Mark Sykes*□p.220.

[14] As quoted by Friedman□*The Question of Palestine*□p.130.

[15] Adelson□*Mark Sykes*□pp.220-21.

[16] As quoted by Friedman□*The Question of Palestine*□p.131.

[17] Hardegg to Glazebrook□April 2□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□RG84□Entry 448□Volume 3.

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[19] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.287.

[20] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 19□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[21] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□March 12□1917.

[22] Sykes to War Office□April 30□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3053□f. 191-93.

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[24] Aaronsohn□“Addendum to ‘Report of an inhabitant of Athlit□’” undated but November 1916□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/2783.

[25] Sykes to Graham□April 28□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055.

[26] *Jewish Chronicle*□London□□May 4□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055.

[27] See Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055□File 87895.

[28] Oliphant□minutes to “Jews in Palestine□” May 4□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055□File 87895.

[29] Ormsby-Gore to Sykes□May 8□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-47□p.4.

[30] Wingate to Foreign Office□May 11□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055.

[31] *New York Times*□June 3□1917.

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[33] Turkish Legation to the Netherlands□May 24□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055. Also□Alvarado to Hardinge□June 8□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055.

[34] Deedes to Egypt High Commissioner’s Office□Cairo□June1□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 141/805.

[35] Aaronsohn to Sulzberger□June 2□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 141/805.

[36] Report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden□August 25□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□RG84□E

ntry 58□Volume 399.

[37] Townley to Balfour□August 10□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3055.

[38] Aaronsohn□“The Evacuation Menace□” undated but late July 1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 141/805.

[39] Lawrence to Wilson□Intelligence Memo□undated but circa April 21□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 686/6□f. 88.

[40] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.224.

[41] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.225.

[42] Wilson to Clayton□“Note on the Proposed Military Plan of Operations of the Arab Armies□” May 1□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/6□f. 351.

[43] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.226.

[44] Wilson to Clayton□March 21□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/12□f. 199-201.

[45] Wingate to Foreign Office□April 27□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-41d.

[46] Sykes to Wingate□May 5□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□

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永远不要怀疑英国的诺言。它睿智而值得信赖。不必害怕。

——1917年5月，侯赛因国王写给儿子费萨尔的信[1]

谢里夫陛下（侯赛因国王）显然有着东方君主常见的人格缺陷和对系统工作的无知……指导东方君主或政府走应该走的路并非易事——我为此大伤脑筋，付出了不少代价，所以深知这一点——我对你非常同情。工作有时肯定令人心碎。

——1917年7月20日，雷金纳德·温盖特给西里尔·威尔逊的信[2]

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年事已高、面色铁青、憔悴不堪，带着一种灰暗的忧伤和悔恨，脸上唯一的表情就是苦痛的笑容。在他的粗糙睫毛的上方是破败不堪、呈褶子状下垂的眼皮。在头顶的阳光下，两束红光闪耀着射入他的眼窝，令两个眼窝仿佛火坑，这个人就在缓缓燃烧。[24]

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死人看上去非常美丽。月光温柔地播撒，将他们软化为新象牙般的颜色。土耳其人身体上没穿衣服的部分非常白皙，比阿拉伯人白得多，而且这些士兵非常年轻。在他们周围，艾蒿摇曳着，缀满露珠，月光的末端在露珠上如同浪花一般闪闪发光。死尸被抛在地面上，令人心生悲悯，堆成低低的小堆。如果身体舒展开来，他们一定能终于舒适起来了。于是我把他们全都摆放整齐，一个一个地摆好。我自己也很疲惫，渴望成为这些宁静的人的一员，而不是回到山谷高处那群没有片刻安宁、吵闹、苦痛的暴徒当中去，那些人还在为战利品而争吵不休，吹嘘自己的速度和吃苦耐劳的本事。

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[1] As related by Wilson to Clayton□May 24□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□882/16□f. 113.

[2] Wingate to Wilson□July 20□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 35.

[3] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Seven Pillars*□book 4□chapters 39-44□pp.227-312□

[4] □□1□□□□□□□□□□1□□□

[5] Sykes to Wingate□May 23□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]-41b[illegible]p.3[illegible]slightly different version in Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/3054[illegible]f. 329.

[6] Sykes to Wingate[illegible]May 23[illegible]1917[illegible]Mark Sykes Papers[illegible]Middle East Centre[illegible]St. Antony’s College[illegible]·[illegible]-41b[illegible]p.5[illegible]slightly different version in Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/3054[illegible]f. 330.

[7] Tanenbaum[illegible]*France and the Arab Middle East*[illegible]1914-1920[illegible]pp.17-18.

[8] Wilson to Clayton[illegible]May 25[illegible]1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/16[illegible]p.5.

[9] Newcombe[illegible]“Note” on Sykes-Picot meeting with King Hussein[illegible]May 20[illegible]1917[illegible]George Lloyd Papers[illegible]Churchill College[illegible]·[illegible]9/9.

[10] [illegible]1917[illegible]5[illegible]—[illegible]1918[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]—[illegible]—[illegible]Tanenbaum[illegible]*France and the Arab Middle East*[illegible]p.17[illegible]“[illegible]”

[11] McMahon to Hussein[illegible]October 24[illegible]1915[illegible]as cited by Antonius[illegible]*The Arab Awakening*[illegible]p.420.

[12] Report by Political Intelligence Department□Foreign Office□“Memorandum on British Commitments to King Husein □sic□□” December 1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/13□p.7□f. 225.

[13] “Note by Sheikh Fuad El Khatib taken down by Lt Col Newcombe□” undated but May 1917□p.3□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/16□f.133.

[14] Wilson to Clayton□May 24□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/16□f. 111.

[15] Faisal Hussein□“To All Our Brethren— The Syrian Arabs□” trans. May 28□1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□145/7/89.

[16] Clayton to Sykes□July 30□1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□ Clayton Papers□693/12/30.

[17] Wilson to Symes□June 20□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/16□f. 127□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□1917□5□□□□□□□*The Question of Palestine*□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□p.206□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……5□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□” □□□□□□□“□□□……”

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[18] Symes to Wilson，June 26，1917，Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/16，f. 129-30.

[19] Wilson to Clayton，May 20，1917，Sudan Archives，University of Durham[illegible] Wingate Papers，145/7/36.

[20] Lawrence，*Seven Pillars*，pp.25-26.

[21] Lawrence as quoted by Wilson，*Lawrence*，p.410 n. 40.

[22] Lawrence as quoted by Wilson，*Lawrence*，p.410 n. 41.

[23] Lawrence，*Seven Pillars*，Oxford[illegible]Chapter 51.

[24] Lawrence，*Seven Pillars*，p.546.

[25] Lawrence，*Seven Pillars*，Oxford[illegible]Chapter 51.

[26] Lawrence，*Seven Pillars*，p.26.

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[28] See Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3050□File 47710.

[29] Prüfer□*Diary*□May 21-July 18□1917□Hoover Institution□Stanford University□□□□□□□□□.

[30] Prüfer to Mittwoch□April 12□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□T149□Roll 365□Frame 399.

[31] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.129.

[32] □□□□·□□□1917□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□Chapter 7□

[33] Yale□“Palestine-Syria Situation□” to U.S. State Department□June 27□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□763.72/13450.

[34] Yale to Secretary of State Lansing□June 30□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□ Box 2/Folder 48.

[35] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.306. For an account of the battle at Aba el Lissan□see also Lawrence□“The Occupatio

n of Akaba□” undated□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 63-68.

[36] See field reports of Herbert Garland□May 1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 686/6.

[37] Dawnay□“Notes on Faisal’s Proposed Advance Northward□” May 29□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/606□f. 43A.

[38] Clayton to Director of Military Intelligence□London□□July 5□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 1.

[39] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.310.

LAWRENCE IN ARABIA

WAR, DECEIT, IMPERIAL FOLLY AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST

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不要尝试亲手去做太多的事。让阿拉伯人自己去做，哪怕只做得马马虎虎，也比你自己去做得完美要好。这是他们的战争，你是来帮助他们的，不是来替他们打赢战争的。另外，在阿拉伯半岛非常奇怪的条件下，你的实践工作或许没有你想象的那么好。

——1917年8月，T.E.劳伦斯给英国军官的《二十七条建议》[1]

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[illegible]70[illegible]“[illegible]”[52][illegible]

[illegible]90[illegible]68[illegible]

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[illegible]9[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [55]

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[1] Lawrence[illegible]*Twenty-Seven Articles*[illegible]August 1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/7[illegible]f. 93-97.

[2] Clayton to Military Intelligence Director[illegible]London[illegible]July 11[illegible]1917[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 882/7[illegible]f. 18-23.

[3] [illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]book 5[illegible]chapters 55 and 56[illegible]pp.317-22[illegible]

[4] Wingate to Robertson□July 14□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□ 374/41077.

[5] Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.422.

[6] Lawrence to Clayton□July 10□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/16□f. 249.

[7] Allenby to Robertson□July 16□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/634□f. 4A.

[8] Allenby to Robertson□July 19□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/634□f.10A.

[9] Lawrence□*Twenty-Seven Articles*□August 1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 93-97.

[10] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□July 1□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[11] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□July 2□1917.

[12] Sykes to Graham□May 5□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony's College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-41a.

[13] Clayton to Sykes□June 22□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3058□f. 156.

[14] Cecil to Hardinge□June 13□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3058□f. 145.

[15] Cecil to Hardinge□June 13□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3058□f. 146-48.

[16] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□July 17□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[17] Wingate to Graham□July 23□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3083□f. 55.

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[19] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.323.

[20] Wilson to Clayton□July 29□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 48.

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[22] Lawrence□“Report on meeting King Hussein□” July 30□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3054□f. 372-73.

[23] Macindoe for Clayton to Military Intelligence Director□July 28□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□ 141/668□p.5.

[24] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.326.

[25] Wilson to Arab Bureau□Cairo□□August 6□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□158/634□f. 25A.

[26] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.327.

[27] Yale□“Palestine-Syrian Situation□” with addendum□July 10□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3050.

[28] Foreign Office to Spring-Rice□July 25□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3057.

[29] Yardley□*American Black Chamber*□p.172.

[30] Department of State□“History of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the United States Department of State□” 2011. www.state.gov/documents/organization/176705.pdf.

[31] Harrison to Gunther□American embassy□London□□August 30□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□RG59□Box 1047.

[32] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 8□pp.10-11.

[33] Aaronsohn□“The Jewish Colonies□” Arab Bulletin no. 64□September 27□1917□□389-91.

[34] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□August 12□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[35] Wingate to Balfour□August 20□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3053□f. 384.

[36] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□pp.152-54.

[37] □□□“□□□□”□□□□Lewen Weldon□□□□*Hard Lying*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Weldon□□195□□□□“□□□‘□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□□□□6□□□□□1□□□□□”

[38] Lawrence to Clayton□August 27□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 88-92.

[39] Sykes to Clayton□July 22□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-69.

[40] Sykes memorandum□“On Mr. Nicholson’s □sic□ Note Regarding Our Commitments□” July 18□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-66.

[41] Curzon to Hardinge□August 23□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□371/3044□f. 299.

[42] Nicolson précis for Balfour□July 11□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3044□f. 286-93.

[43] Sykes to Drummond□July 20□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□-68.

[44] Sykes to Clayton□July 22□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-69.

[45] Lawrence to Sykes□September 7□1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ ClaytonPapers□693/11/3-8.

[46] Clayton to Lawrence□September 20□1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□ Clayton Papers□693/11/9-12.

[47] Yale□*Diary*□September 8□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□ Box 2□Folder 2.

[48] Yale□*Diary*□September 12□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□ Box 2□Folder 2.

[49] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.367.

[50] Lawrence to Clayton□September 23□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□882/4□f.71.

[51] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.369.

[52] Lawrence to Clayton□September 23□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/4□f.71.

[53] □□□□□□□□·□□□□□·“□□□□”·□□□1846—1917□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□18□□□□□4280□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□

[54] Lawrence to Stirling□September 25□1917□T.E. Lawrence Collection□University of Texas□T.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Folder 6□File 7.

[55] Lawrence to Leeds□September 24□1917□in Garnett□The Letters of T.E. Lawrence□p.238.

[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]

我只希望，也只相信，劳伦斯能够安全回来。他此刻正在那边打仗。如果他能成功，肯定能得维多利亚十字勋章；如果不能，唉，我都不敢去想！

——1917年11月11日，戴维·霍格思给妻子的信[1]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1917[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible]23[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]1917[illegible]10[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]90[illegible]——[illegible]1917[illegible]100[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]1917[illegible]NILI[illegible]——[illegible]NILI[illegible]

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9[illegible]·[illegible]NILI[illegible]·[illegible]NILI[illegible]9[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[1] As quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.455.

[2] Aaronsohn to Alex Aaronsohn□October 1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 11.

[3] Yale□*Diary*□September 25□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□ Box 2□Folder 2.

[4] Aaronsohn to Alex Aaronsohn□October 1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 11.

[5] Clayton to Joyce□October 24□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 175□Joyce memo□undated□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/634. See also Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□pp.447-48.

[6] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□pp.387-89.

[7] Clayton to Wingate□November 13□1916□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□ WingatePapers□143/2/190.

[8] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□pp.298-99.

[9] Sheffy□*British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign*□p.162□Engle□*The Nili Spies*□pp.167-68.

[10] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.303.

[11] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□pp.186-87.

[12] □□□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Bernstorff to Foreign Ministry for Warburg□October 26□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□T120□Roll 4334□Frame K179639□

[13] See Sheffy□*British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign*□p.162 nn.77 and 78.

[14] Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.326.

[15] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.202□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□1917□12□□□□□□□□□□□

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[17] Engle□*The Nili Spies*□p.191.

[18] Hogarth to Ormsby-Gore□October 26□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3054□f. 388.

[19] Lawrence to Leeds□September 24□1917□in Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.238.

[20] See various George Lloyd reports on Hejaz economy and political situation□Autumn 1916□in George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/8.

[21] Lloyd to Clayton□September 30□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/13.

[22] Lloyd to Clayton□October 20□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/13.

[23] Clayton to Lloyd□October 25□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/10.

[24] Lloyd□“Diary of Journey with T.E.L. to El Jaffer□” October 24□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/11.

[25] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□pp.421-23.

[26] Lloyd to Clayton□November 5□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/10.

[27] Liddell Hart□*Colonel Lawrence*□pp.193-94.

[28] Prüfer to Oppenheim□November 3□1914□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□□□T137□Roll 23□Frame 213.

[29] Lloyd□notes from travels□undated but late October 1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/10□Jeremy Wilson□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“HMG”□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□

[30] Lloyd□“Diary of Journey with T.E.L. to El Jaffer□” October 28□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/11.

[31] Knabenshue to U.S. Secretary of State□October 23□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□RG59□Box 1047□111.70Y1/3.

[32] Knabenshue to U.S. Secretary of State□November 4□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□M353□Box 6□Frame 0827.

[33] Hoover□U.S. Consul□Säo Paulo□Brazil□to U.S. Secretary of State□August 21□1917□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□M367□Roll 217□document 763.72112.5321.

[34] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 8□pp.18-19.

[35] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□margin note□chapter 7□p.21.

[36] Weizmann□*Trial and Error*□p.208.

[37] As reproduced on frontispiece by Stein□*The Balfour Declaration*.

[38] Clayton to Lloyd□November 12□1917□George Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□9/10.

[39] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Seven Pillars*□book 6□chapters 77 and 78□pp.425-34□

[40] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.163.

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关于阁下近日向罗思柴尔德勋爵发出的关于巴勒斯坦犹太人的宣言，我们满怀敬意地恳请阁下注意，巴勒斯坦是叙利亚的关键组成部分——恰似心脏是身体的关键所在——不能作任何政治上或社会上的分离。

——1917年11月14日，埃及的叙利亚委员会给英国外交大臣贝尔福的信[1]

英国当局给叙利亚委员会的答复是：……给贝尔福先生的电报目前不能发送给他们，但英国当局很高兴地看到，在埃及的叙利亚人表达了他们对犹太复国主义问题的意见。

——1917年12月17日，威廉·耶鲁给美国国务院的报告[2]

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[1] Syrian Committee of Egypt[illegible]November 14[illegible]1917[illegible]William Yale Collection[illegible]Yale University[illegible]·[illegible]Box 3[illegible]Folder 8.

[2] Yale to Harrison[illegible]December 17[illegible]1917[illegible]William Yale Collection[illegible]Yale University[illegible]·[illegible]Box 2[illegible]Folder 11.

[3] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.435.

[4] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.439.

[5] Weizmann to Aaronsohn□November 16□1917□reproduced in Friedman□*Zionist Commission*□pp.19-20.

[6] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□November 16□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[7] House to Drummond□September 11□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3083□f. 107.

[8] Wiseman to Drummond□October 16□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3083□f. 106.

[9] Weizmann to Aaronsohn□November 16□1917□reproduced in Friedman□*Zionist Commission*□pp.19-20.

[10] Verrier□ed.□*Agents of Empire*□p.295□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□14□□□□□□

[11] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□December 1□1917□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Seven Pillars*□book 6□chapter 80□pp.441-47□

[13] Mack□*A Prince of Our Disorder*□p.233.

[14] As quoted by James□*The Golden Warrior*□p.214 n. 17.

[15] Lawrence to Stirling□June 29□1919□T.E. Lawrence Collection□University of Texas□T.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□copy□Folder 6□File 7.

[16] As quoted by Brown□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□pp.261-62.

[17] Agent 92C□“Syrian Politics□” December 9□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 106/1420.

[18] Lewis□“An Ottoman Officer□” in Kushner□*Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period*□p.413.

[19] Agent 92C□“Syrian Politics□” December 9□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□□106/1420.

[20] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□25□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□

[21] As quoted in Antonius□*The Arab Awakening*□p.255.

[22] Agent 92C□“Syrian Politics□” December 9□1917□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 106/1420.

[23] Ahmed Djemal Pasha to Faisal□undated□□translated and sent from Wingate to Balfour□December 25□1917□PRO-

PRO 30/30/10 f. 67.

[24] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.453.

[25] Sykes to Graham□May 5□1917□Mark Sykes Papers□Middle East Centre□St. Antony’s College□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-41d.

[26] Foreign Office to Wingate□May 29□1917□Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□□ Wingate Papers□145/7/114-15.

[27] Wilson to Brémond□September 21□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3051.

[28] Wingate to Graham□December 10□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3051.

[29] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.455.

[30] Clayton to Sykes□November 28□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3054□f. 393.

[31] Wingate to War Cabinet□December 24□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3062.

[32] Minutes to “Turkish Intrigues in Arabia□” December 26□1917□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3062□File 243033.

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[34] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□Oxford□□chapter 115.

[35] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□Oxford□□chapter 115□and Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□1926□□p.554.

[36] Lawrence to Yale□October 22□1929□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 1□Folder 4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□

[37] “It must be abundantly”□Weizmann to Brandeis□January 14□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3394□f. 423.

[38] British government White Paper□“Notes on Zionism□” Part 2. Communications of the Zionist Organization II□Ja

nuary-March 1918□April 19□1918□p.11□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□371/4171□f. 99.

[39] British government White Paper□“Notes on Zionism□” Part 2. Communications of the Zionist Organization II□January-March 1918□April 19□1918□p.11□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□371/4171□f. 99.

[40] Lawrence to Clayton□January 22□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 251-53.

[41] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.462.

[42] Lawrence to Clayton□January 26□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 254-58.

[43] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.482.

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它或许是个骗局，或许是场闹剧，但没人能说我在其中演得不好。

——T.E.劳伦斯在《智慧的七柱》中对自己在阿拉伯起义中扮演的角色的评论[1]

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1918[illegible]8[illegible]7[illegible]60[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1917[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

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[1] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.503.

[2] □□·□□□□□□□1917□1918□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 8□

[3] Yale to Harrison□December 24□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 12.

[4] Yale to Harrison□November 12□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 6.

[5] Yale to Harrison□February 25□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 19.

[6] Yale to Harrison□November 4□1917□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 5.

[7] Lawrence to Clayton□January 22□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 251-52.

[8] Lawrence to Clayton□February 12□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 267.

[9] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Seven Pillars*□book 7□chapter 90□pp.499-502.

[10] Lawrence to Clayton□February 12□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 268.

[11] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.341.

[12] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.502.

[13] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.503.

[14] Lawrence□*The Home Letters*□p.348.

[15] Yale to Harrison□March 11□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 21.

[16] David Hogarth□“Report on Mission to Jeddah□” January 15□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/13 f. 35-40.

[17] Wingate to Foreign Office□February 19□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 3713380□f. 473.

[18] Lawrence□“Syrian Cross Currents□” *Arab Bulletin Supplementary Papers*□February 1□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/14.

[19] Clayton to Sykes□February 4□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3398.

[20] Lawrence to Clayton□February 12□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7.

[21] Wingate to Foreign Office□April 8□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3403□f. 372.

[22] Yale to Harrison□March 11□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 21.

[23] British government White Paper□“Notes on Zionism□” Part 3. *The Zionist Commission in Palestine*□February 6□1919□pp.16-17□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/4171□f. 102.

[24] British government White Paper□“Notes on Zionism□” Part 3. *The Zionist Commission in Palestine*□February 6□1919□pp.14-21□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/4171□f. 100-104.

[25] Cornwallis to Symes□April 20□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/14□f. 358-59.

[26] Yale to Harrison□April 8□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 25.

[27] Yale to Harrison□March 25□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 23.

[28] Yale to Harrison□June 10□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 34.

[29] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 1□1918□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[30] Yale to Harrison□April 8□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 25.

[31] □□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Seven Pillars*□book 8□chapters 112-113□pp.507-17□

[32] Wavell□*The Palestine Campaigns*□pp.173-84.

[33] McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□ p.54.

[34] Bernstorff to von Hertling□July 19□1918□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roll 22348□Türkei 47□Band 7.

[35] Oppenheim to Jagow□February 23□1915□Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Roll 21129□Der Weltkrieg no. 11g□Band 7.

[36] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.520.

[37] Dawnay to EEF Headquarters□May 1□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 277-86.

[38] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□pp.526-27.

[39] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.527.

[40] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□March 21□1918□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya'aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[41] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 4□1918.

[42] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 6□1918.

[43] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□April 20□1918.

[44] Clayton to British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs□June 16□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/803□pp.5-7.

[45] Clayton to British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs□pp.4-5.

[46] Lawrence to Clayton□February 12□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 268.

[47] Clayton to Lawrence□May 22□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 141/688.

[48] General Headquarters to Commandant Akaba□May 24□1918□War Office Records□□□□□□□ 95/4370□App A.

[49] Clayton to Foreign Office□June 12□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 141/688.

[50] Wingate to Foreign Office□March 23□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3403□f. 359.

[51] □□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3403□File 53608□

[52] Clayton to Foreign Office□April 2□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3403□f. 364-66.

[53] Mehmet Djemal to Faisal□translator unknown□□June 2□1918□War Office Records□□□□□□ 158/634□f. 137.

[54] Hogarth□memorandum attached to “The Arab Question□” August 9□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 371/3381□f. 113.

[55] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□Appendix II.

[56] Lawrence□“Note□” June 16□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□ 141/688.

[57] Yale to Harrison□March 25□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 23.

[58] Gary to U.S. Secretary of State□May 30□1918□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□RG59□Box 1047□111.70Y.

[59] □□·□□□□□□1918□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 8□

[60] Yale to Harrison□July 1□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 35.

[61] Yale to Harrison□April 29□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 28□pp.10-11.

[62] U.S. Secretary of State Lansing to Yale□July 9□1918□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□RG59□Box 1047□111.7

0Y.

[63] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.534.

[64] Foreign Office to Wingate[illegible]June 11[illegible]1918[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/3381[illegible]f. 35-36[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[65] Hogarth[illegible]memorandum attached to “The Arab Question[illegible]” August 9[illegible]1918[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/3381[illegible]f. 113[illegible]1918[illegible]9[illegible]

[66] Clayton to Foreign Office[illegible]May 3[illegible]1918[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/3403[illegible]f. 384.

[67] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.544.

[68] Prüfer[illegible]*Diary*[illegible]July 31[illegible]1918[illegible]Hoover Institution[illegible]Stanford University[illegible].

[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]

我们命令“不要俘虏”，士兵们服从了这道命令。

——1918年10月，T.E.劳伦斯关于塔法斯事件的正式报告。[1]

1918[illegible]9[illegible]12[illegible]50[illegible]3[illegible]150[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible][2][illegible]

[illegible]

9[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]

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我爱你，因此我将这些如潮的人流拉进我的手中
在繁星灿烂的天空里写下我的心愿

去为你赢来自由——那有七根支柱的智慧之屋
你的眼睛会为我而闪耀
当我们来的时候
死神似乎是我征途上的仆人，直到我走近你
看见你在等待
当你微笑时，悲戚地嫉妒时，他（死神）追上了我
并把你拉走
带入他无言的寂静之中。

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]80[illegible]15[illegible]”[12][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[1] Lawrence[illegible]“The Destruction of the 4th. Army[illegible]” October 1918[illegible]War Office Records[illegible] 882/7[illegible]f. 360.

[2] Gilbert[illegible]*First World War*[illegible]p.452.

[3] Prüfer[illegible]*Diary*[illegible]August 30[illegible]1918[illegible]Hoover Institution[illegible]Stanford University[illegible].

[4] Prüfer to AA[illegible]September 3[illegible]1918[illegible]National Archives[illegible]U.S.[illegible]T137[illegible]Roll 138[illegible]Frames 329-30.

[5] Yale[illegible]*It Takes So Long*[illegible]chapter 8[illegible]p.30.

[6] Lawrence[illegible]*Seven Pillars*[illegible]p.586.

[7] Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□ p.244.

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[9] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.579.

[10] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.586.

[11] Yale to U.S. Director of Military Intelligence□September 12□1918□William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□Box 2□Folder 39.

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[13] □□·□□□□1918□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 9□

[14] As quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.549.

[15] As quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.549.

[16] Bartholomew to Joyce□September 21□1918□War Office Records□□□□□□□□ 157/738.

[17] Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.555.

[18] Lawrence to Dawnay□September 25□1918□War Office Records□□□□□□ 157/738.

[19] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□pp.628-29.

[20] Lawrence□"The Destruction of the 4th. Army□" October 1918□War Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 360.

[21] Lawrence□"The Destruction of the 4th. Army□" October 1918□War Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 360.

[22] Barrow□*The Fire of Life*□pp.209-12.

[23] Mack□*A Prince of Our Disorder*□pp.234-40□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[24] Stirling□*Safety Last*□pp.93-94.

[25] Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.563.

[26] Lawrence to General Headquarters□October 1□1918□War Office Records□□□□□□ 157/738.

[27] Lawrence□"The Destruction of the 4th. Army□" October 1918□War Office Records□□□□□□ 882/7□f. 364.

[28] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□p.656.

[29] Chauvel□"Notes□" as cited by Hill□*Chauvel of the Light Horse*□p.184.

[30] CIGS to Allenby□September 25□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3383□f. 489-92.

[31] War Office to General Headquarters□Egypt□October 1□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3383□f. 498-99.

[32] Chauvel□“Notes□” as cited by Hill□*Chauvel of the Light Horse*□p.184.

[33] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 10□p.3.

[34] Chauvel□“Notes□” as cited by Hill□*Chauvel of the Light Horse*□p.185.

让劳伦斯滚蛋吧。他是个恶棍，被我杀了。

——1924年10月6日，T.E.肖（T.E.劳伦斯的化名）给H.C.阿姆斯特朗的信[1]

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[illegible]1935[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]

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[1] Lawrence to Armstrong[illegible]October 6[illegible]1914[illegible]T.E. Lawrence Collection[illegible]University of Texas[illegible]T.E.[illegible]Folder 2[illegible]File 6.

[2] Arthur Hirtzel to Curzon[illegible]June 19[illegible]1919[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/4149[illegible]f. 149A.

[3] Clark-Kerr[illegible]quoted by Wilson[illegible]*Lawrence of Arabia*[illegible]p.617.

[4] The Weizmann-Faisal Agreement[illegible]January 3[illegible]1919[illegible]as reproduced in Friedman[illegible]*Tension in Palestine*[illegible]pp.157-61.

[5] Weizmann[illegible]“Proposals Relating to the Establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine[illegible]” November 19[illegible]1918[illegible]Foreign Office Records[illegible] 371/3385.

[6] Gelfand[illegible]*The Inquiry*[illegible]pp.60-62.

[7] E. H. Byrne[illegible]*Report on the Desires of the Syrians*[illegible]October 7[illegible]1918[illegible]William Yale Collection[illegible]Yale University[illegible]·[illegible]

□□□□□□□ Box 4□Folder 23.

[8] Yale□*It Takes So Long*□chapter 10□p.6.

[9] Garnett□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.294.

[10] The Weizmann-Faisal Agreement□January 3□1919□as reproduced in Friedman□*Tension in Palestine*□pp.157-61.

[11] Lawrence to Liddell Hart□Graves and Liddell Hart□*T.E. Lawrence*□*Letters to His Biographers*□Pt. 2□p.143.

[12] Sykes□memorandum□October 15□1918□Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 371/3413.

[13] Hogarth to Clayton□quoted by Adelson□*Mark Sykes*□p.281.

[14] Sykes□as quoted by Adelson□*Mark Sykes*□p.289.

[15] Lloyd George□as quoted by Wilson□*Lawrence of Arabia*□p.609.

[16] Aaronsohn□*Diary*□January 16□1919□NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.

[17] Aaronsohn□as quoted by Florence□*Lawrence and Aaronsohn*□p.406.

[18] 1919□1924□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□DeNovo□*American Interests and Policies in the Middle East*□pp.167-209□Fanning□*Foreign Oil and the Free World*□chapter 5□Shwadran□*The Middle East□Oil and the Great Powers*□pp.403-9□and Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□ 141/456□File 6522.

[19] Suleiman Nassif to Yale□March 24□1924□William Yale Papers□Boston University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 15□Folder 6.

[20] Yale to Birch Helms□Socony□□May 5□1922□William Yale Papers□Boston University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 15□Folder 5.

[21] Yale□“Islam Versus Christianity□” *North American Review*□February 1923□William Yale Papers□Boston University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 11.

[22] Yale□letter to Free World□August 1942□William Yale Papers□Boston University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□Box 1□Folder 9.

[23] McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□p.59.

[24] Prüfer to Otto Gunther von Wesendonck□German Foreign Ministry□November 2□1918□National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□T136□Roll 94□Frame 21.

[25] Security Service Records□□□□□□□□ 2/3114.

[26] Prüfer□as quoted by McKale□*Curt Prüfer*□p.177.

[27] From Prüfer's MI5 Security Service file□Security Service Records□□□□□□□□ 2/3114.

[28] Lawrence to Graves□May 21□1912□Graves and Liddell Hart□*T.E. Lawrence□Letters to His Biographers*□Pt. 1□p.15.

[29] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□ p.641.

[30] Lawrence□*Seven Pillars*□ p.276.

[31] Meyers□*The Wounded Spirit*□p.11.

[32] Lawrence to Newcombe□February 28□1929□T.E. Lawrence Collection□University of Texas□T.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Folder 5□File 2.

[33] Lawrence to Charlotte Shaw□as cited in Brown□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□p.290.

[34] Lawrence to Rogers□as cited in Brown□*The Letters of T.E. Lawrence*□ p.536.

[35] King George V to A. W. Lawrence□*Times*□London□□May 21□1935.

[36] Churchill□quoted in A. W. Lawrence□*T.E. Lawrence by His Friends*□1954 edition□□p.202.

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[illegible]Debbie Usher[illegible]Liz Gray[illegible]David Pfeiffer[illegible]Eric Van Slander[illegible]NILI[illegible]Marion Freudenthal[illegible]Ilonit Levy[illegible]Alex Rankin[illegible]Carol Leadenham[illegible]Lynsey Robertson[illegible]Howard Diamond[illegible]1914[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]Donald McKale[illegible]·[illegible]*Curt Prüfer*[illegible]*War by Revolution*[illegible]·[illegible]McKale[illegible]T.E.[illegible]Jeremy Wilson[illegible]

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[illegible]Donald McKale[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]T.E.[illegible]John Mack[illegible]T.E.[illegible]Jeremy Wilson[illegible]Wilson[illegible]

BU—William Yale Papers[illegible]Boston University[illegible]·[illegible]

GLLD—George Lloyd Papers[illegible]Churchill College[illegible]·[illegible]

HO—Hoover Institution[illegible]Stanford University[illegible]

MSP—Mark Sykes Papers[illegible]Middle East Centre[illegible]St. Antony’s College[illegible]·[illegible]

NARA—National Archives□U.S.□□□□□□□□□□

PAAA—Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry□Berlin□Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

PRO—National Archives□formerly Public Records Office□□UK□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

PRO-ADM—Admiralty Records□□□□□□□

PRO-CAB—British Cabinet Records□□□□□□□□

PRO-KV—Security Service Records□□□□□□□□

PRO-FO—Foreign Office Records□□□□□□□

PRO-WO—War Office Records□□□□□□□

SADD—Sudan Archives□University of Durham□□□□□□□□□□□

UNH—William Yale Collection□University of New Hampshire□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

UT—T.E. Lawrence Collection□University of Texas□T.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

YU—William Yale Collection□Yale University□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

ZY—NILI Museum and Archives□Zichron Ya’aqov□Israel□NILI□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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